

*Vol 4 Ec*  
R E M A I N S  
O F  
CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY. *K*

W I T H  
EXPLANATORY NOTES.

ΣΤΗ ΤΩ ΔΙΚΑΙΩ ΤΩΝ ΣΩΝ ΟΥ ΤΑΡΕΩ ΦΩΒΩ,  
SOPHOCLES

*by*

*Sir David Dalrymple, Bart.*

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T O

THE RIGHT REVEREND,

THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.

BISHOP OF BRISTOL,

THESE REMAINS

OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

B Y

THE EDITOR.

THE FIRST PART

THOMAS NEWTON D.D.

MINION OF PARADISE

THE SECOND PART

OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY

AND REVERENDLY REVEREND

BY

THE EDITOR

+

## P R E F A C E.

**S**ome time ago I published *Remains of Christian Antiquity, containing an account of the Martyrs at Smyrna and Lyons in the second century.*

*The work has been favourably received by men of whose friendship and approbation I am proud; and this encourages me to publish another little volume composed of similar materials.*

*The first piece in this volume is, "The trial of Justin, surnamed Martyr, and of his companions." It is translated from the copy published by Ruinart, in *Acta sincera Martyrum.**

*"We have the Acts of Justin's*

*a*

*"mar-*

“martyrdom, which seem in the main  
 “to be genuine, and to contain a true  
 “narration of his courageous beha-  
 “viour, and of his sufferings\*.”

*I have attempted to point out the passages which bear the appearance of interpolation.*

There follows, “The epistle of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch.” This is preserved in the sixth book of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and has been always esteemed a performance of singular merit. It describes the tumult excited against the Christians in the last year of the Emperor Philip,

\* Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, v. 2. p. 163.

and the persecution which ensued throughout Egypt in the first year of the Emperor Decius.

“ Dionysius of Alexandria was one  
 “ of Origen’s disciples. He is called  
 “ by Jerom, a most eloquent person.  
 “ He was held in great esteem by Eu-  
 “ sebius, and by all the ancient Chri-  
 “ stians; and from the large extracts  
 “ of his writings produced by Euse-  
 “ bius, he appears to have been a learn-  
 “ ed, critical, acute, ingenious, elegant  
 “ author. He was of an illustrious  
 “ family, had received a polite edu-  
 “ cation, had been a professor of rhe-  
 “ toric in the days of his Paganism,  
 “ and afterwards was a bishop, and  
 “ a confessor \*.”

\* Fortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History,  
 v. 2. P. 295.



*This appears to be a just account of Dionysius. The later Greeks have bestowed on him the appellation of the Great, and have suffered his numerous works to perish!*

*Concerning the version of the epistle of Dionysius to Fabius, I have only to observe, that I could not have made so good a version without assistance. Truth and candour require this acknowledgement, and discretion forbids me to say more.*

*“The trial and execution of Cyprian Bishop of Carthage,” although it may contain a few interpolations, is admitted to be, upon the whole, an authentic piece. The interpolations are easily discernible to the eye of impartial critics.*

*This*



*This piece has become generally known by means of the elegant and free paraphrase of Mr Gibbon. In my version, I have followed the copy prefixed by Bishop Fell to his edition of the works of Cyprian.*

*The reasons which induced me to admit "the trial of Fructuosus and "his two deacons," among genuine remains of Christian Antiquity, will be seen at large in the notes. The original is to be found in the Acta sincera Martyrum, published by Ruinart. It is certainly interpolated; and the interpolations appear to have been the work of different hands, in different ages. The critical reader will judge whether I have rightly distinguished the genuine trial from its various accessions.*

*This*

*This collection is closed with "The Maiden of Antioch." The story is told at greater length by St Ambrose, in his second book, de Virginibus. The credulity of some writers, and the excessive scepticism of others, have forced me to make a long commentary on a plain and simple narrative.*

*Some apology ought to be made for the Notes and Illustrations. They are prolix, and many of them will be thought uninteresting: yet such as they are, they may prove serviceable to those readers who have made small progress in the study of Christian Antiquities: a study, important on many accounts, and peculiarly requisite for understanding the real causes of the progress and establishment of Christianity; "of a pure and humble religion."*

“gion,” to use the eloquent expressions  
of an admired author \*, “which  
“gently insinuated itself into the minds  
“of men, grew up in silence and ob-  
“scurity, derived new vigour from  
“opposition, and finally erected the  
“triumphant banner of the Cross on  
“the ruins of the Capitol.”

\* *The History of the Decline and Fall of the  
Roman Empire*, by Edward Gibbon, Esq; p. 535.

CON-

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T H E

THE  
T R I A L  
O F

JUSTIN, surnamed MARTYR,  
And of his COMPANIONS.

**J**USTIN, Chariton, Euelpistus, Hierax, Liberianus, Pœon, and Charito, having been apprehended, were brought before the judgement-seat of Rusticus, Prefect of Rome.

The Prefect spake thus.—Come now, and, according to the Imperial edict, obey the Gods.

PR. [to Justin.] In what studies art thou conversant ?

A

JU-



JUSTIN. My studies have been various, and I have endeavoured to attain to the knowledge of every sect of philosophers: at length I have adhered to the true discipline of the Christians, unacceptable as it may be to those who are misled by false opinions.

PR. Thou most unhappy man! and is *that* the study in which thou delightest thyself! \* Tell me, where do the Christians assemble?

JUSTIN. Where-ever it chanceth to suit with their inclination and convenience.—Thinkest thou that we are wont to assemble together in one stated place? It is not so: for the God of the Christians is unlimited; himself invisible, he filleth the heavens and the earth, and in all places is he fitly adored and glorified by the faithful.

PR.



PR. Go to — tell me where it is that *thou* assemblest *thy* disciples.

JUSTIN. I am now at Rome for the second time ; and hitherto I have dwelt with one Martinus, who has the care of the bath named *the Timiotin* ; and I have not frequented any other place : unto every one who visited me, I have communicated the doctrine of truth.

PR. So the result is, that thou art a Christian?

JUSTIN. Yes, truly : I am a Christian.

PR. [to Chariton.] Art thou also a Christian?

CHARITON. I am, through God's aid.

PR. [to Charito, a woman.] Dost thou also believe in Christ?

CHARITO. I also, by the gift of Christ, am a Christian.

PR. [to Euelpistus.] And who art thou?

EUELPISTUS. I am the slave of Cæsar, yet a Christian also, and from Christ have obtained my liberty; and through his favour and grace I am become partaker of the same hope with those whom thou beholdest.

PR. [to Hierax.] Art thou also a Christian?

HIERAX. Verily I am; for I worship and adore the same God.

PR. Was it Justin who made you to become Christians?

HIERAX. I have always been, and I shall ever be a Christian.

POEON, standing up, said, I also am a Christian.

PR.

PR. And who taught thee?

POEON. From my parents received  
I this good confession.

EUELPISTUS. As for me, I have  
listened with pleasure to the discourses  
of Justin, yet it was from my parents  
that I learned to be a Christian.

PR. Where are thy parents?

EUELPISTUS. In Cappadocia.

PR. [to Hierax.] Where do thy pa-  
rents dwell?

HIERAX. Our true father is Christ;  
and the faith by which we believe in  
him, is our mother: but as for my  
earthly parents, they are dead: having  
been taken away from Lycaonia in  
Phrygia, I came to Rome.

PR. [to Liberianus.] Art thou also a  
Christian, and an enemy of the Gods?

LI-

LIBERIANUS. I am ; for I worship and adore the one true God.

PR. [to Justin.] Thou hast a name for eloquence, and thou believest thyself to possess the knowledge of the true philosophy : say then, Dost thou indeed imagine, that after having had thy body scourged, and after having been beheaded, thou shalt ascend unto the heavens?

JUSTIN. I trust that I shall attain whatever they attain who have observed the precepts of Christ, although I should endure whatever thou hast spoken : for I am verily persuaded, that unto every one who hath so lived, the divine grace is reserved at the consummation of all things.

PR. And so thou thinkest that thou shalt ascend unto the heavens, and obtain

tain an equivalent for thy sufferings!

JUSTIN. I do not merely *think* so, but I *know* it of a truth.

PR. Let us come to a conclusion. Ye must all sacrifice unto the Gods.

JUSTIN. No man who holdeth right opinions, will forsake religion, and fall back into error and impiety.

PR. Unless ye obey my commands, ye shall be tortured without mercy.

JUSTIN. It was our chief wish to endure tortures for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so to be saved; for these our tortures will work our salvation, and obtain confidence to us at the dreadful tribunal of our Lord and Saviour, where all men, according to the will of God, shall appear.

In like manner spake they all; and they said, "Whatsoever thou doest, do  
" quickly;



“ quickly ; for we are Christians, and  
 “ we sacrifice not unto idols.”

The Prefect, hearing this, pronounced sentence, “ That those who, in  
 “ contempt of the Imperial edict, re-  
 “ fuse to sacrifice unto the Gods, be  
 “ scourged, and then capitally punish-  
 “ ed, according to the laws.”

**THE**



**T H E**  
**E P I S T L E**

**O F**

**DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Alexandria,**

**T O**

**FABIUS, Bishop of Antioch.**

**T**HE persecution among us had not its origin from the Imperial edict [of Decius], but commenced a full year before ; for some ill-boding soothsayer [and poet], forerunning the edict, excited the superstitious spirit of the country, and violently drove the Gentile multitude against us ; and they, in-

**B**

**stigated**

stigated by this man, and having assumed all licence in wickedness, imagined, that to slay the Christians was the alone acceptable religious service.

First of all, they took an aged man, named *Metras*, and commanded him to pronounce a form of blasphemous words: and when he obeyed not, they beat his body with clubs, and thrust sharp reeds against his face and his eyes; and then conducting him into the suburbs, they stoned him to death.

Next, they dragged a woman, named *Quinta*, one of the faithful, to the idol temple, and they strove to make her worship: and when she turned away with abhorrence, they bound her feet together, and drew her along the rough pavement throughout the whole city; and after they had both dashed her a-  
gainst

gainst mill-stones, and scourged her, they took her to the place where Metras had suffered, and flew her in like manner.

Then with one accord they invaded the dwellings of the Christians; and each man was diligent in expelling and plundering his neighbours: and whatever part of the goods was precious, *that* they set aside for their own use; but whatever was less valuable, and things made of wood, they threw about and burnt in the streets: so that Alexandria had the appearance of a city stormed by enemies; and the brethren turned aside and fled, "joyfully taking" the spoiling of their goods," like those of whom Paul bare witness.

And indeed I know not any, unless

one, who, thus far, fell, and abjured the Lord.

Moreover they seized Apollonia, a single woman, of the most venerable character, and of a great age, whose head they struck and buffeted with so great violence as to force out all her teeth: then, having set fire to a pile of wood without the city, they threatened to burn her alive, unless she joined with them in pronouncing certain impious words. She implored a short respite, was unbound, and suddenly leaping into the fire, she was consumed.

And in his own house they laid violent hands on Sarapion; and having cruelly tortured him, and broken all his joints, they threw him down headlong from the upper chamber.

There was neither public nor private  
road

road which we could tread with safety, by night or by day ; for all men incessantly, and every where, joined in the cry, to seize and burn him who should refuse to pronounce the blasphemous words.

Such continued to be the state of things, until sedition and civil war arose among the unhappy men, and turned the course of their barbarity from us upon themselves ; and thus we obtained a short breathing-time from that fury which there was now no leisure in any to direct against us : but presently the tidings arrived, that that government which had treated us with singular benignity, was overthrown, and great fear came upon us by reason of the threatened persecution ; and then the Imperial edict appeared, in such sort as almost



almost to present to our view that exceeding terrible day, foretold by our Lord, "wherein, if it were possible, the very elect should be offended."

Certain it is, that we were universally dismayed. Of many, the most eminent among us, some, through pusillanimity, presented themselves at the first general summons; others, employed in public business, were forced to appear in virtue of their offices; and others were dragged before the Heathen tribunals by their own familiar friends.

Diverse also was the behaviour of those who, having been cited by name, approached to the impure and unhallowed sacrifices. Some appeared pale and trembling, as if they themselves, instead of sacrificing unto the idols, had



been about to be sacrificed ; insomuch that they were scoffed at by the surrounding multitude, as men who were plainly afraid either to sacrifice or to die. But others hastened with all diligence to the altars, affirming boldly, that they had never been Christians ; of whom it was most truly spoken afore by our Lord, " that such men should hardly be saved."

Of the rest, some imitated the examples already recorded, and others fled, and others were seized.

Of those who were seized, some, either immediately, or after certain days, without having been brought to trial, abjured, and others, by force of torture, renounced, the faith.

But the firm and blessed pillars [in the temple] of our Lord having been strengthened

strengthened by him, and having received might and fortitude according to the powerful faith that was in them, became the admirable witnesses of his kingdom.

Of them the first was Julian. He, broken with the gout, and unable to stand or walk, was borne to the place of trial by two other Christians: one instantly apostatized; but the other, Cronion surnamed *Eunous*, and the aged Julian, avowed their faith in the Lord: and they were conducted on camels throughout the whole city, which thou knowest to be exceedingly great; and they were openly scourged; and at length, in presence of the multitude, they were consumed with fire.

And a certain soldier, named *Befas*, being present while Julian and Cronion  
were

were led to execution, endeavoured to stay the insults of the multitude. But the multitude cried out, to have him also brought before the judgement-seat : and this most courageous champion of the Lord, having quitted himself manfully in the great combat, for the cause of piety, was beheaded.

Another also, a Libyan by birth, named *Makar*, having resisted the many and earnest solicitations of the governor, urging him to apostasy, was burnt alive.

After them Epimachus and Alexander, having remained long in bonds, and having been scourged, and having endured manifold tortures, in the end, through the fervent heat of fire, were dissolved.

With them four women suffered.

C

First,

First, the holy virgin Ammonarium. She had, from the first, declared to the governor, that she would never utter any of the words which he had commanded; and therefore the governor purposely strove, by long and exquisite tortures, to overcome her spirit. Nevertheless she made good her promise, and was led to execution. Then another Ammonarium, and Mercuria, of most honourable old age, and Dionysia, the mother of many children, yet who "loved the Lord more than those," were slain with the sword, not having undergone the trial of tortures; for the governor became ashamed to afflict them in vain, and to be overcome of women: and thus Ammonarium stood forth in the front of the battle, and underwent tortures instead of them all.

Then

Then Heron, and Ater, and Ifidorus, Egyptians, and Dioscorus, a youth of about fourteen years of age, were delivered unto judgement.

The governor imagining the youth to be docile and pliable, essayed, by fair speeches to delude, and by violence to compel him to sacrifice. Nevertheless Dioscorus would not be persuaded, neither did he yield.

Then, after a most savage sort, he scourged the others; and them, too, persevering in the faith, he committed to the flames; but he dismissed Dioscorus. The youth had eminently distinguished himself in sight of the whole people, answering most judiciously to every question; so that the governor was astonished, and said, "In respect  
" of thy youth, I will allow thee far-



“ ther space for amendment :” and this incomparable Dioscorus is now amongst us, waiting for a longer trial, and one more suited to his strength.

And there was another Egyptian, named *Nemesion*, who, having been falsely accused of associating with thieves, altogether cleared himself of that accusation before the military officer of the district. He was afterwards informed against as a Christian, and was brought in bonds before the governor. That most unjust judge, having afflicted him with redoubled stripes and tortures, ordained him to be burnt alive between two thieves : and thus was the blessed *Nemesion* honoured with a resemblance [of the sufferings] of Christ.

And a party of soldiers, Ammon and Zeno, Ptolemy and Ingenes, with the  
aged

aged Theophilus, stood together near the judgement-seat. And there was a certain person brought to trial as a Christian, who seemed about to apostatize: but those men gnashed their teeth, and made signs with their countenances, and stretched out their hands, and by united gestures shewed the interest they took in the event. And when the eyes of all men were turned towards them, they, not having been seized by any, with one accord ran forward to the bar, and professed themselves to be Christians. Then were the governor and his counsellors fore afraid; so that while *they* who were about to receive condemnation appeared dauntless, their judges trembled, and those men went forth from the judgement-hall, exulting in their testimony; and through them

them God obtained a glorious triumph.

Moreover, others in great number, throughout the towns and the villages of Egypt, were torn in pieces by the Gentiles; of whom I will record one as an example.

Ischurion, in the office of steward, was the hired servant of a certain magistrate; him his master commanded to burn incense: and when he not only complied not, but persisted in his refusal, his master evil intreated him, and at length, forcing a great stake into his entrails, slew him.

Wherefore should I speak of the multitude, who, having wandered in deserts and mountains, were consumed through hunger, and thirst, and cold, and diseases, or by robbers and wild beasts? The brethren who survived  
those

those calamities, bear witness that they were chosen ones, and that they overcame.

One incident shall be added in way of illustration. Chæremon, a person exceedingly aged, was Bishop of the city Nilus. He having fled, together with his wife, to the Arabian mountain, returned no more; neither could the brethren, after the most diligent search, ever discover them or their remains: and many others who fled to the Arabian mountain, were made captives by the Saracene barbarians; and some of them were hardly ransomed at a great price, and others still abide in captivity.

And now, brother, have I gone through this relation, not without cause, but that thou mightest understand the terrible things which have befallen

befallen us : how many they were, and how great, is best known unto them who felt them most.

[Eusebius relates that Dionysius, after having said a few things, proceeds thus.]

Those divine men, once martyrs among us, are now sat down with Christ, and have been made partakers of his kingdom and authority ; and, together with him, will hereafter pronounce sentence on the world. Being yet with us, they received certain of the brethren guilty of having sacrificed unto idols. They judged, that the visible conversion and penitence of *the fallen* might prove acceptable in *his* sight, who willeth rather the amendment than the death of a sinner ; and therefore they welcomed and took them in, and hospitably in-



treated them, and admitted them into the fellowship of prayer, and breaking of bread.

Now, my brethren, what do ye jointly counsel as touching these things, and how ought we to act? Shall we concur with the martyrs, and accommodate ourselves to their gracious judgement, and be gentle towards *the fallen*, of whom they had mercy? Or shall we put a slight on their judgement, and take upon ourselves to call in question their determination, and grieve their merciful spirit, and subvert that order which they have established?

D

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D

THE

T H E  
T R I A L and E X E C U T I O N  
O F  
C Y P R I A N, Bishop of Carthage.

**I**N the fourth consulate of Valerian, and third of Gallien, Emperors, on the 30th day of August, at Carthage, in *the Cabinet*, Paternus, Proconsul of Africa, thus spake unto Cyprian the Bishop.

PR. The Emperors Valerian and Gallien have directed their commands unto me, requiring, “ That all men, of  
“ whatever opinion, do conform to the  
“ religious rites of the Romans : I have,  
“ therefore, caused inquiry to be made  
“ for

“for thee ; and I now demand, What is  
 “thy name? How answerest thou?”

CYPR. I am a Christian, and of the  
 Episcopal order. I know no other  
 God beside the *One* and the true God,  
 who made the heavens, and the earth,  
 and the sea, and all that is therein. Him  
 we Christians serve, and to him we put  
 up our supplications, day and night,  
 for thee, and for all men, and especial-  
 ly for the welfare of the Emperors.

PR. Dost thou persist in this opinion?

CYPR. A right opinion, founded on  
 the knowledge of God, is immovable.

PR. Then, according to the Imperial  
 mandate, thou must depart into ban-  
 nishment to the city Curubis.

CYPR. I depart.

PR. The Emperors have vouchsafed  
 to lay their commands on me concerning



Presbyters as well as concerning Bishops; and therefore I desire to learn of thee, what Presbyters there are in this city?

CYPR. I must not disclose their names, or *inform* against them; for well and fitly have your own laws prohibited *informers*.—The Presbyters after whom you inquire, will be found in their own places of abode.

PR. *Now*, and in *this place*, I inquire after them.

CYPR. Voluntary appearance before the judgement-seat is forbidden by our institutions, and is condemned even by yourselves. The Presbyters will not appear unless they are summoned; but if thou causelt search to be made after them, they will be discovered.

PR. They *shall* be discovered, and  
by

by *me*.——The Emperors also have commanded, “ That no private assemblies be any where held; that no persons do presume to enter into *cemeteries*; and that whoever offends herein, shall be capitally punished.”

CYPR. It is thine to execute what is given in charge unto thee.

Then the Proconsul pronounced sentence, banishing Cyprian to the city *Curubis*.

After Cyprian had long remained *there*, Galerius Maximus having succeeded to Aspasius Paternus in the office of Proconsul, ordered Cyprian to be sent for, and to be brought into his presence. Cyprian abode at his country-house, expecting, from day to day, that they would come and apprehend him, as had been foreshewn unto him.

On

On the 13th of the month of September, in the consulate of Fuscus and Bassus, two officers came suddenly from the Proconsul, lifted Cyprian into a chariot, placed him between them, and conveyed him to Sexti, where the Proconsul resided for recovery of his health.

The Proconsul delayed the examination of Cyprian unto the next day. Meanwhile Cyprian was conducted to the habitation of one of the officers, in the street called *Saturn's*, between the temples of the Heathen divinities *Venus* and *Health*; and the whole multitude of the brethren assembled about him: and when Cyprian perceived that the young maidens stood in the street before the gates of his dwelling, he straitly enjoined that they should be removed, and kept at home.

Then

Then on the following day, being the 14th of September, there came great numbers to Sexti, by command of the Proconsul; and they conducted Cyprian to be tried before the Proconsul, sitting in the hall named *Sauciolum*.

Cyprian having been brought in, Galerius Maximus, the Proconsul, thus addressed him.

PR. Art thou Cyprian, named *Thascius*?

CYPR. I am.

PR. Hast thou been as a chief priest unto the men of the sacrilegious sect?

CYPR. I have.

PR. The Emperors have commanded that thou shouldst offer incense unto the Gods.

CYPR. I will not.

PR. Deliberate with thyself.

CYPR.

CYPR. It is thine to execute what is given in charge unto thee. As for me, in that which is manifestly right, there needeth no deliberation.

The Proconsul advised with his council, and then gave judgement, being hardly able to utter the words.

The judgement was to this effect.

“ Thou hast lived long in the profession of impious tenets, and thou hast gathered unto thee many persons confederated in iniquity ; thou hast avowed thyself to be an enemy of the Roman Divinities, and the sacred laws of the Empire ; neither could the Emperors Valerian and Gallien, and Valerian Cæsar, ever by any means recall thee to a conformity with their religious rites : and now, seeing that thou hast been discovered

“ to



“ to be the chief instigator to the com-  
 “ mission of most enormous crimes,  
 “ thou shalt be made an example unto  
 “ thine associates, and religion shall be  
 “ established by thy blood.”

Then the Proconsul read the sentence :

“ It is ordered, That Cyprian, named  
 “ *Thascius*, be beheaded.”

CYPR. Thanks be unto God !

On hearing this sentence pronounced,  
 the brethren cried out with one voice,  
 “ Let us die with Cyprian.” And they  
 were mightily moved, and a great mul-  
 titude followed him ; and he was led  
 forth into a field in the neighbourhood  
 of Sexti, and *there* he put off his robe,  
 and he kneeled down, prostrating him-  
 self in prayer before the Lord. He then  
 put off his tunic, and standing in his  
 linen garment, he waited for the exe-

E

cutioner :

cutioner : and when the executioner came, the brethren spread cloaths on the ground where Cyprian stood ; and Cyprian covered his eyes with his hand ; and because he could not bind his own arms, Julian the Presbyter, and Julian the Sub-deacon, bound them : and then the blessed Cyprian was beheaded.

And his body, that it might not be exposed to the Gentiles, was interred by torch-light, in the neighbourhood of the place where he suffered, in a piece of vacant ground belonging to Macrobius Candidus, the Procurator, at the Mappalian way, near the fish-ponds.

Some few days after, Galerius Maximus, the Proconsul, died.

The blessed Cyprian suffered on the 14th day of September, under the Emperors Valerian and Gallien.

T H E

**T H E**  
**TRIAL and EXECUTION**  
**O F**  
**FRUCTUOSUS, Bishop of Tarracona**  
**in Spain,**

And of his two Deacons,

**AUGURIUS and EULOGIUS.**

**I**N the reign of the Emperors Valerian and Gallien, under the consulate of Æmilian and Bassus, on the 16th of January, being the Lord's day, Fructuosus the Bishop, and his two Deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, were apprehended.

Fructuosus was in bed when the ex-

empted soldiers, Aurelius, Festucius, Ælius, Pollentius, Donatus, and Maximus, arrived at his house. Hearing the sound of their feet, he instantly arose, and came to the threshold in his slippers. The soldiers said, "Come, the Governor hath sent for thee and thy Deacons." Fructuosus answered, "Let us go, but permit me first to put on my shoes;" and the soldiers permitted him: and then were Fructuosus and the two Deacons straightway received into prison. Fructuosus, in full assurance of obtaining from the Lord that crown to which he was called, prayed without ceasing. The brethren were with him, comforting him, and intreating to be remembered in his prayers.

Next day, while in prison, he baptized

zed Rogatian our brother. On the sixth day of their imprisonment, being Friday the 21st day of January, they were brought forth to the place of trial, and were heard.

Æmilian, the President, said, "Bring in Fructuosus the Bishop, together with Augurius and Eulogius."

It was answered by the officers of court, "They are here."

ÆMILIAN. [to Fructuosus.] Hast thou heard what the Emperors have commanded?

FRUCTUOSUS. I know not what they have commanded.—As for me, I am a Christian.

ÆMIL. They have commanded that the Gods be worshipped.

FR. I worship the One God, who made



made heaven, and earth, and the sea,  
and all that is therein.

ÆMIL. Knowest thou that there are  
Gods?

FR. No.

ÆMIL. *That* thou shalt know here-  
after.

Then Fructuosus looked towards  
God, and began to pray within himself.

Æmilian said, *Who* can be obeyed, or  
feared, or adored, if no worship is paid  
to the Gods, and no veneration to the  
images of the Emperors?

ÆMIL. [to Augurius the Deacon.]  
Do not thou listen to the speeches of  
Fructuosus.

AUGUR. I worship the Almighty  
God.

ÆMIL. [to Eulogius the Deacon.]  
Dost thou also worship Fructuosus?

EULOG.

EULOG. Nay, but I worship him whom Fructuosus worshippingeth.

ÆMIL. [to Fructuosus.] Art thou a Bishop?

FR. I am.

ÆMIL. Thou wert !

Then Æmilian pronounced sentence, condemning them all to be burnt alive.

And while they were conducting Fructuosus and the Deacons to the amphitheatre, the multitude began, with one voice, to lament over Fructuosus. For great was the love which not only the brethren, but the Heathens also, bare towards him : for he was such a person as the Holy Spirit, by the blessed Apostle Paul, declares, that a vessel unto honour, and a teacher of the Gentiles, ought to be. Wherefore the brethren who knew that he was advancing  
to

to so great glory, rejoiced rather than mourned; and when many, through brotherly kindness, offered him to drink of a cup of wine mixed with spices, he would not, saying, "My fast is not yet ended:" for it was then about the fourth hour. Now Fructuosus, with his Deacons, had, on the fourth day of the week, instituted a fast in prison; and on the sixth day he hastened, with confidence and joy, to the feast of the prophets and martyrs in that paradise which the Lord hath prepared for those who love him.

And when he approached the amphitheatre, his reader, named *Augustalis*, forthwith came unto him, and with tears besought permission to take off his shoes: to whom the blessed Fructuosus made answer, "Let me alone, my son;

"I myself will perform that office; for

"I am strengthened, and I rejoice in the

"certainty of the divine promise."

And after this, Felix, our brother and fellow-soldier, seized his hand, request-

ing to be remembered in his prayers:

to whom the holy Fructuosus, in the hearing of all, with a loud voice, made

answer: "Thou desirest that I should

"pray for thee; depart not then from

"*her* for whom I must needs pray:

"for it behoveth me, in my supplica-

"tions, to remember the universal

"church spread from the East unto

"the West."

And now, standing at the threshold of the amphitheatre, and about to receive, not punishment, but an unfading crown, he was encompassed with the

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soldiers,

soldiers, of whose names mention has been made ; yet so that the brethren heard the words which he uttered. Then, through the admonition of the Holy Spirit, he thus spake : “ There  
 “ will not be wanting a pastor among  
 “ you ; for the loving-kindness and the  
 “ covenant of the Lord shall never  
 “ fail ; and *that* which ye now behold,  
 “ seemeth but as the tribulation of one  
 “ hour.”

And Fructuosus, having comforted the brethren, entered, with the two Deacons, unto salvation. They were worthy, in their blessed martyrdom, to receive the fruits promised by the holy scriptures ; and they bare a resemblance to the *three children* in the fiery furnace. And when the wreaths  
 which



which bound their hands were consumed, they, mindful of their wonted religious worship, and in firm trust of resurrection, kneeled down, and implored the mercy of God, until they gave up the ghost together.

F 2

THE

T H E  
M A I D E N  
O F  
A N T I O C H.

**T**Here dwelt a Christian virgin at Antioch, excellent in beauty, and of manners unblameable. Withdrawing from the view of mankind, she sought retirement, and devoted herself to a single and solitary life. A persecution having arisen, she knew not where to flee. She was taken before the Heathen magistrate; and she stood at his tribunal, blushing and trembling, yet constant in the profession of her faith.

The

The judge pronounced sentence;  
 " That, on her refusal to sacrifice, she  
 " should be exposed in a public bro-  
 " thel." She would not sacrifice; and  
 she was led to the place appointed. She  
 wept in silence, and prayed. A pro-  
 fligate croud assembled about the door  
 of her cell, when there arrived a young  
 man, in a military garb. He dispersed  
 the croud, and burst open the door.  
 The maiden fondly hoped, that he was  
 an executioner, whom the judge, in  
 pity, had sent to put an end to her for-  
 rows.

" Fear not, my sister, (said he); al-  
 " though in wolves cloathing, I am not  
 " what I seem. I come as a brother,  
 " not to destroy, but to save. Take  
 " this robe, and these military orna-  
 " ments, array yourself in them, and  
 " depart.

“ depart. I will remain *here*, and encounter every hazard.” The maiden, eager to save her virtue, and yet, anxious for the fate of her deliverer, hesitated : at length she obeyed, and escaped.

The bystanders imagined that it was the soldier who had gone forth : but a lewd person entering in, discovered the artifice.

The feigned soldier, having been dragged before the judge, was condemned to instant execution. Then the maiden started up from the place of her concealment, and ran, and surrendered herself. A generous contest arose between them, “ *which* of the “ two should suffer.” By the sentence of the judge, *both* died.

## NOTES and ILLUSTRATIONS.

*The trial of Justin, surnamed Martyr,  
and of his Companions.*

Pag. i. l. i.

“Justin.” The compilers of the Greek martyrologies have supposed that there were *two* martyrs at Rome in the second century of the name of *Justin*: one, the person whose trial is related in the preceding sheets; and the other, the celebrated Apologist.

But it is exceedingly improbable, that, at Rome, and at the very same point of time, there should have been two Christians, bearing the name of *Justin*, both of them skilled in rhetoric, and conversant in Heathen philosophy; and who both, after having attached themselves in succession to different sects of philosophers, embraced the Christian



Christian religion, instructed disciples, and died for the common faith.

It happens unfortunately, that we have no evidence from primitive writers, for proving the authenticity of the trial of Justin. What Eusebius says on the subject, is scanty and ambiguous, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 16. : the trial, however, bears internal marks of authenticity, which, in good measure, supply the defect of other evidence.

As soon as the Roman-Catholic writers began to call in the aid of criticism to their inquiries concerning the ancient martyrs, they candidly acknowledged, that the preambles and the conclusions of the Acts of those good men were, for the most part, of little authority ; happy for the cause of truth, had they, with equal candour, examined the Acts themselves, and studied to discriminate from each other, the false, the dubious, the probable, and the certain !

The Acts of the martyrdom of Justin ap-  
1
pear

pear in the main to be genuine ; but they are not altogether free from suspicion of interpolations, as will be remarked hereafter.

It may be fit to premise, that the Latin copy, published by Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum sincera*, p. 58. and by many other collectors of that class, is a paraphrase of the Greek still extant, (see *Acta Sanctorum*, 1. Jun. p. 20.) ; and that the Greek is supposed to be a translation or an abridgement of the original, now lost.

Ibid.

“ Chariton,” &c. All the names in this list, excepting that of Liberianus, are Greek. We learn from the sequel, that Euelpistus certainly, and probably Hierax, were slaves ; and from the general cast of the names in the list, it would seem, that the persons accused were mostly of low condition. “ Chariton,” [Χαρίτων] is the name of a man, but “ Charito” [Χαρίτω] of a woman. Some of the later Martyrologists, in order

G

to

to avoid the ambiguity arising from the sound of the two words, have substituted "Charitana," or "Charitina," in place of "Charito."

Pag. 1. 1. 5.

"Rusticus, Prefect of Rome." Q. Junius Rusticus, Consul in the first year of Marcus Antoninus, [supposed A. D. 161.], and afterwards Prefect of Rome. In *Gruteri Inscriptiones*, p. 222. there is preserved a mark on an ancient Roman weight, in these words: "Ex auctoritate Quinti Junii Rustici Præfecti Urbis." Marcus Antoninus calls him, "our friend," [amicus noster], l. 1. § 3. *D. de Appellationibus*; but that title relates rather to the office which he held, than to his personal connection with the Emperor, although some writers appear to have understood it in a different sense. Marcus Antoninus, in his *Meditations*, thus speaks of Junius Rusticus: "I owe this to the Gods — that although I was oftentimes angry  
" with

“ with Rusticus, yet I kept within the bounds  
 “ of moderation, and did nothing to him  
 “ of which I had cause to repent me.”

[Παρά τῶν Θεῶν — το χαλεπήναντα πολλάκις  
 ῥησίσκῳ, μηδὲν πλέον πράττειν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν μετέγ-  
 νων.] ΤΩΝ. ΕΙΣ. EAYTON. A.

There is a remarkable passage in Julius Capitolinus, *Hist. Aug. Script.* edit. Salmas. p. 23. Speaking of Marcus Antoninus, he says, “ Audivit — præcipuè Junium Rusti-  
 “ cum, quem et reveritus est et sectatus, qui  
 “ domi militiæque pollebat, Stoicæ discipli-  
 “ næ peritissimum, cum quo omnia commu-  
 “ nicavit publica privataque consilia, cui et-  
 “ iam ante Præfectos Prætorio semper oscu-  
 “ lum dedit; quem et consulem iterum de-  
 “ signavit, cui post obitum à senatu statuas  
 “ postulavit.” Hence we learn, that Junius Rusticus, a learned Stoic, and employed in the highest offices of the Roman govern-  
 ment, was the favourite tutor of the Imperial philosopher, and his familiar friend and

confident. These circumstances become peculiarly interesting, when we see so distinguished a person presiding at the trial of Justin and his Christian associates. From the account given of him by his pupil, we might be apt to conclude, that he was of a temper capricious and overbearing: and, indeed, it would be no extravagant conjecture to suppose, that the Emperor imbibed his prejudices against the Christians from the hasty and supercilious opinions of Junius Rusticus.

Some chronologists place this trial in the third year of M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Verus, which is supposed to correspond with the year 163 of the vulgar æra; others place it in A. D. 165 or 166; and others seem altogether uncertain as to the year. The question is of no great importance. It seems now to be universally allowed, that Justin Martyr suffered in the reign of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher.



Pag. 1. l. 8.

“Obey the Gods.” At this place there is added, in the narrative, “Justin said, “Whoso obeyeth our Saviour Jesus Christ, “according to his precepts, shall never receive condemnation.” These words, if they were spoken, seem to have been a brief admonition addressed to his fellow-prisoners. It is plain from the sequel, that the Prefect did not remark them. The reader will judge, whether they ought to be considered as a part of the genuine narrative of what passed at the trial of Justin and his companions, or as a pious sentiment inserted by some transcriber.

Pag. 1. l. 10.

“In what studies art thou conversant?” Justin, it is probable, continued to wear the philosopher’s cloak: it was a fashionable garb in those days, when the very name of philosopher commanded respect. The question here put, was proper from the great teacher

teacher of the Stoics, who sat as judge at the trial.

Whatever knowledge the Prefect might have had of the personal character and writings of Justin, it was no part of his duty as a magistrate to consider him in any other capacity than that of an absolute stranger.

Pag. 2. l. 1.

“My studies have been various.” The modesty and morals of Justin had preserved him from any familiar intercourse with the Cynics, whose only merit consisted in impudence, dignified with the appellation of *freedom of speech*: and it may be presumed, that his good sense kept him at a distance from the Epicureans: yet he himself acknowledges, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, that he had made the round of the other philosophical sects before he became a Christian.

To be instructed in the knowledge of the nature of the Divinity, was his early and  
vehement

vehement wish. With this view, he frequented a teacher among the Stoics : from him he learned many things, but nothing of what he aimed to acquire. His master avowed his ignorance in those matters, and even affected to hold them as foreign to the studies of a philosopher.

Justin next applied to a Peripatetic, who demanded hire for his lectures. This demand appeared sordid and unphilosophical to the young student ; and therefore he withdrew in disgust to the Pythagorean school.

From the Pythagoreans he obtained mighty promises of illumination in divine knowledge ; but, first of all, it behoved him to be instructed in music and geometry ! Justin, ignorant of those sciences, and, probably, having no genius for acquiring them, abandoned the Pythagoreans, and attached himself to the Platonists.

With them he made considerable proficiency, and bewildered himself amidst the  
endless

endless intricacies of speculation. One day, while meditating alone, he was accosted by an old man, who instructed him in the principles of the Christian religion, and convinced him of its truth.

Pag. 2. l. 10.

\* Tell me," &c. Here I have omitted a passage which has the appearance of being an interpolation. I shall now translate it. — It runs thus.

"PR. And what is that opinion?

"JUSTIN. To worship the God of the  
 "Christians, whom we hold to be One,  
 "from the beginning, the Creator of all  
 "things, visible and invisible; and the Lord  
 "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whose ap-  
 "pearance unto mankind was foretold by the  
 "prophets, who proclaimeth salvation, and  
 "who instructeth all those that are willing  
 "to receive his instructions. [διδάσκαλος  
 "καλῶν μαθητῶν.] As for me, being a man,  
 "I can say little concerning his unlimited di-  
 "vinity;

“vinity; but I acknowledge *that* prophetic power, which foretold *his* coming, whom I have already termed *the Son of God*; and I know that the prophets did foretel from above, [*ἄνωθεν*, it may signify, *of old*], that he should appear among men.”

This version will be found tolerably exact, although, from that very reason, inelegant.

The passage seems to be an interpolation. When Junius Rusticus heard Justin avow, that he had attached himself to the discipline of the Christians, he exclaimed, “Thou most unhappy man, and is *that* the study in which thou delightest thyself!” [*ἐκείνοι σε ἀρέσκειν οἱ λόγοι πανάθλι.*] which the Latin paraphrast has happily rendered “*Illâne, miserrime, eruditione delectaris!*” This exclamation was altogether in character. It was the language of a Stoic and a Statesman. But how can it be reconciled

H

with



with what follows, in the suspected passage? Junius Rusticus, immediately after having spoken of Christianity with disgust and scorn, is represented as coolly and curiously inquiring into the nature of the Christian belief.

And here there arises another difficulty which deserves to be solved. If Justin Martyr presented his Apology to the Emperor and the senate, how came it to pass, that Junius Rusticus, the favourite of the Emperor, and the second man in Rome, should have been so totally ignorant of the Christian tenets as his question to Justin supposes him to have been?

The truth is, that from a sarcastical question afterwards proposed by the Prefect, it appears that he was not ignorant of the Christian tenets; for in that question he alludes to the great doctrine of the resurrection. *This* he could not have learned from the answer supposed to have been made by Justin in the suspected passage, although he might  
have

have learned it from the writings of the Christian Apologists.

The answer here put in the mouth of Justin is also singular. Although short, it cannot be altogether exempted from the charge of tautology; and it is silent as to the sufferings and death of Christ. The Jesuit Papebroch perceived the omission; and he has urged it as an apology for his brethren in China, who declined any unseasonable discourse of *Christ crucified* to their *polite* hearers. “Plenum discretionis responsum, “et opportunum excusandis prædicatoribus “Evangelicis, apud Sinas, aliasque *cultiores* “nationes, dum non statim eorum oculis “auribusque *Christum* proponunt *crucifixum*,” Vid. *Acta Sanctorum*. 1. Jun. p. 22.

Pag. 4. l. 5.

“I am a slave of Cæsar, yet a Christian  
“also, and from Christ have obtained my  
“liberty.” A memorable saying of this poor  
slave. I suspect, however, that some of my

readers will be apt to misunderstand the words, and to conclude, that Euelpistus meant to say, that, by becoming a Christian, he considered himself as no longer subjected to his earthly master. But his meaning is more elevated. He alludes to liberty from spiritual thralldom.

Pag. 5. l. 8.

“Where are thy parents?” An insidious question, tending to make Euelpistus inform against his own parents!

Pag. 5. l. 19.

“An enemy of the Gods.” In the Greek it is *ἑυσεβεις*: either an error of transcribing, for *ἀσεβεις*; or a sarcasm, “Art thou also one of *the* godly?”

Pag. 6. l. 3.

“Thou hast a name for eloquence.” This is highly in character. Junius Rusticus had an aversion at rhetoric, and dissuaded his Imperial pupil from that study. [*παρὰ Περσίου τὸ ἀποσλῆναι ῥητορικῆς.*] *M. Antonin.*

nin. b. 1. From what Euelpistus said, the Prefect might have inferred, that Justin had a name for eloquence ; and in this he might have been confirmed by the style and manner of Justin's answers. Whether the expression does also allude to *the Apology* of Justin, the reader will judge.

Pag. 6. l. 7.

“ After having had thy body scourged,  
 “ and after having been beheaded.” [*εἰς  
 μαρτυρίαν ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι.*] The Latin para-  
 phrast has mistaken the sense : for he says,  
 “ *Si a capite per totum corpus flagellis cæsus*  
 “ *fueris.*”

Pag. 6. l. 19.

“ And so thou thinkest that thou shalt a-  
 “ scend unto the heavens.” Of the state of  
 men after death, the Stoics spake uncertain-  
 ly ; and indeed they seem to have formed no  
 system on a subject so interesting to the hopes  
 and fears of rational beings. Seneca, at one  
 time, speaks in the style of a religious The-  
 ist :

ist: "*Dies iste* quem tanquam extremum  
 "reformidas, æterni natalis est." *Epist.* 102.  
 At another time, in phrases exceedingly am-  
 biguous: "Cogitemus ergo, cito nos eò  
 "perventuros, quò illum (mortuum) per-  
 "venisse mœremus; et fortasse, si modò sa-  
 "pientum vera fama est, recipitque nos lo-  
 "cus aliquis, quem putamus perisse, præ-  
 "missus est." *Epist.* 63. But elsewhere he  
 positively holds, that at death the scene is  
 closed for ever: "Mors nos in illam tran-  
 "quillitatem, in qua, antequam nascere-  
 "mur, jacuimus, reponit." *Ad Marc.* c. 19.

These topics of consolation, which Sene-  
 ca, with much pomp of words, has propo-  
 sed, are here collected for the benefit of the  
 unlearned reader. "That day which you  
 "dread as the last of human existence, is  
 "the birth-day of immortality. Let us con-  
 "sider, that we ourselves shall soon arrive  
 "where we now lament that our departed  
 "friend has arrived; and, peradventure, if  
 "the



“ the report of wise men be true, or if indeed  
 “ there be any place allotted for our reception,  
 “ he whom we suppose to have perished,  
 “ may be more justly said to have been sent  
 “ before us. — Death replaces us in that  
 “ tranquillity in which we lay before we were  
 “ born.”

Whole pages might be filled with transcripts of the like nature, from Seneca, declamatory and inconsistent.

The Stoics oftentimes asserted, that the  
 souls of men did exist after death. An a-  
 bode was allotted for them in the neighbour-  
 hood of the moon, until, in consequence  
 of a conflagration, [*ecpyrosis*], they should  
 be dissolved into their first principles, and  
 then furnish materials towards the construc-  
 tion of new worlds. This honour, however,  
 appears to have been reserved for spirits of  
 peculiar excellency, for the spirits of heroes,  
 legislators, and wise men; but of groveling  
 plebeian souls no account was made.

We

We may now, after this brief explanation of the Stoic opinions, discern the full sense of the sarcastical question proposed to Justin by Junius Rusticus. "Dost thou imagine "that thou wilt ascend unto the heavens?" The great teacher among the Stoics held *that* doctrine in utter derision, which taught, that a poultry Christian rhetor, and his mean and servile companions, should ascend unto the heavens.

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To this narrative the following words are subjoined. "Then the holy martyrs, "praising God with one voice, were scour- "ged, and were led to the wonted place of "execution, and *there* beheaded: and cer- "tain of the faithful carried away their bo- "dies, and interred them where it was con- "venient, through the favour of our Lord "Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever "and ever. Amen." These words are acknowledged to be an addition made by some transcriber. He ignorantly asserts, that Ju-  
stin

stin and all his companions were *beheaded*. This could not be true as to Euelpistus, a slave; for beheading was a mode of execution appropriated to free men.

The account of the trial of Justin and his companions bears internal marks of authenticity. The circumstances are exactly related; and it appears that the Prefect inquired as to three things: Whether the persons accused were Christians? By whom they had received the knowledge of Christianity? and, Where it was that the Christians assembled themselves? The former Prefect, Lollius Urbicus, satisfied himself with the first of those questions: for he ordered Ptolemy, Lucius, and another person, to instant execution, without any ceremony of trial, because they acknowledged themselves to be Christians. *Justin. M. Apolog.*

Every word reported to have been spoken by the Prefect, by Justin, or by his fellow-prisoners, is in character. This circumstance

of propriety will not be found in the fabulous narratives of Martyrologists; and indeed it requires a greater portion of genius and historical knowledge, to clothe a fable in the garb of probability, than fell to the share of those unhappy men, who, by verbose and incoherent fictions, have disgraced the antiquities of the Christian church.

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*The epistle of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, to Faustus, Bishop of Antioch.*

Pag. 9. l. 2.

“The Imperial edict,” issued by the Emperor Decius in the beginning of his reign, supposed to correspond with A. D. 249.

“Some soothsayer,” &c. In the original it is, *ὅστις ἐκεῖνος ἦν* : that is, “Whoever that person was.” Dionysius could not be ignorant of the particular person to whom he alludes ;

alludes; yet, from prudential considerations, he has omitted any mention of his name. Lardner, *Testimonies*, t. 3. p. 75. translates the passage after this manner, "A sooth-fayer or poet, *such as he was*;" as if Dionysius had meant to depreciate his artifices as a *soothsayer*, or to question his *poetical* abilities! From another passage in the Epistles of Dionysius, *ap Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 10.* it might be conjectured, that Macrianus was here meant, who, some years after, under the Emperor Valerian, had an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance against the Christian name; and this, it would seem, was the opinion of Baronius: but Bp Pearson, *Annal. Cypr. ad A. D. 249.* has given a quite different turn to the expression. His words are, "Tu simpliciter verte, et *prævertens malorum huic urbi vates et auctor, quisquis ille fuit, commovit et incitavit adversus nos Gentilium turbas*; hoc enim voluit, nescio quem priorum civitati malorum auctorem



“fuisse sub Philippo, futurorum etiam sub  
 “Decio vatem.” This interpretation may  
 be consistent with the words of Dionysius,  
 nevertheless it appears hardly intelligible.  
 “That a certain person should have been the  
 “author of the evils which happened in A-  
 “lexandria during the government of Phi-  
 “lip, and also the foreteller of those which  
 “ensued under the government of Decius,”  
 is a phrase exceedingly obscure; and indeed  
 Bishop Pearson himself has left its meaning  
 unexplained.

There seems to be in Dionysius an allusion  
 to *Iliad*. A. 106. [Μάρτυς κακῶν], which prob-  
 ably had become a proverbial saying; and  
 the sense may be, that the same person who  
 presaged calamities to Alexandria on ac-  
 count of its harbouring the Christians, ex-  
 cited the populace to persecute those *enemies*  
*of the immortal Gods.*

Pag. 9. l. 5.

“Forerunning the edict,” or, “getting  
 “the

“the start of it.” In the original, it is φθασας. This is retained in the version, although the expression be not strictly proper: for he who excited a popular tumult against the Christians under the government of Philip, could hardly be said to have fore-run or got the start of an edict issued by Decius, the successor of Philip.

Pag. 9. l. 6.

“The superstitious spirit of the country;” [εἰς τὴν ἐπιχωρίον αὐτοῦ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀναρρίπτεισας.] Lardner, *Testimonies*, t. 3. p. 75. translates the passage in this manner: “exciting them to contend for the superstition of their country.” If this translation be just, the worship of Serapis is, probably, intended. The Emperor Adrian, in his letter to Servianus, *ap. Flav. Vopisc.* in Saturnino, says, that “in Alexandria, the worshippers of Serapis were Christians, and that Christian bishops were worshippers of Serapis;” thus

thus satirically exaggerating the levity of the Alexandrians in religious matters.

Pag. 11. l. 1.

“ Mill-stones.” Hand-mills for grinding of corn were generally used in those times, although the use of water-mills was not unknown. See an ingenious note of Salmasius, *ad Lamprid.* p. 193. It is probable, that in a place so populous as Alexandria, there would be great numbers of mill-stones lying ready for sale. This may serve to account for the mention here made of mill-stones, which, at first sight, seems uncouth.

Pag. 11. l. 16.

“ Joyfully taking the spoiling of their goods;” [τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε.] *Heb.* c. 10. v. 34. Dionysius quotes these words as from St Paul. This shews that he held the epistle to the Hebrews to be the work of that Apostle; yet Dionysius, so far from submitting implicitly to received opinions as to the

the canon of the scriptures, sometimes carried his scepticism to an unreasonable length. See *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccles. 1. 7. c. 24. 25.

Pag. 12. l. 1.

“ Thus far,” or, “ till this time ;” [μέχρι γε τῆς]. Dionysius certainly means, that not above one person abjured the faith during the popular tumult ; for he could not boast of such constancy among the Christians when persecution came clothed with authority.

Pag. 12. l. 3.

“ Apollonia.” Among the vulgar of the Romish persuasion, Apollonia has become the patroness of persons afflicted with the toothach. This is mentioned by Cervantes. His celebrated work contains much satire, aimed at the religious opinions of the Roman Catholics ; although, by cautiously expressing himself, he has concealed his purpose from the generality of readers. Hospinianus, *De origine festorum Christianorum*, fol.

fol. 36. b. and 37. a. produces a prayer of the Romish church: “*Æterne ac mitiffi-*  
 “*me Deus, concede propitius, ut qui bea-*  
 “*tæ et gloriofæ Virginis ac martyris Apol-*  
 “*loniæ, quam, excuffis pro tui nominis*  
 “*confeffione dentibus, de morte acerbiffi-*  
 “*ma triumphare fecifti, martyrium recoli-*  
 “*mus, ut ejus meritis et precibus, a dolore*  
 “*dentium, et ab omni languore corporis et*  
 “*animæ, protegi et eripi mereamur.*” This, which is now a prayer in profe, bears marks of having been originally a metrical compofition. — “From the toothach, and every  
 “difeafe of the foul, *libera nos,*” feems a fingular litany.

It will be remarked, that Dionyfius, in relating the ftory of Apollonia, at the hour of trial, neither applauds her fortitude, nor censures her impatience. The lefs judicious author of the *Aurea Legenda*, fays, “Promp-  
 “tior inventa eft ad mortem fœmina quam



“persecutor ad pœnam.” fol. 331. a. edit.

1476.

Pag. 12. l. 19.

“From the upper chamber.” [ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερώου.] Here the common translation of the word is retained, although Dr Shaw, *Travels*, p. 214.—216. 4to edit. has produced very plausible reasons to show, that *back-house* is the more proper translation.

Pag. 13. l. 8.

“Until sedition and civil war arose among the unhappy men.” [διαδεξαμένη δὲ τὰς ἀθλίους ἡ εἰσὶς καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ ἐμφύλιος]. Bp Pearson, *Annal. Cypr.* ad A. D. 249. reads ἄθλους, instead of ἀθλίους, which makes the sense to be, “That after those combats, or sufferings, of the Christians, there ensued a sedition and civil war.”

Pag. 13. l. 15.

“That government which had treated us with singular benignity, was overthrown.”

[ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκείνης τῆς εὐμενέστερας ἡμῖν, με-  
K ἱαβολῇ].

ἡ ἀβολή]. He alludes to the death of the Emperor Philip. The primitive Christians uniformly and gratefully commemorated the tranquillity which they chanced to enjoy under any Heathen Emperors.

It has been a question much agitated among learned men, "Whether the Emperor Philip was a Christian?" and, as is commonly the case in such disputes, some weak arguments have been alternately produced.

We have been told, "that the pious Origen, who had been proscribed as a devoted victim, was still reserved to convey the truths of the gospel to the ear of monarchs; that he addressed *several edifying letters* to the Emperor Philip, to his wife, and to his mother." The passage in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* l. 6. c. 36. from whence this is borrowed, appears to be not quite so explicit. Φέρειται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βασιλεῖα Φίλιππον ἐπιστολή, καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμήλιον Σεβήραν.

Σεβήραν. i. e. "There is extant, or, there is  
 "handed about, an epistle from him to the  
 "Emperor Philip himself, and another to Se-  
 "vera, the consort of the Emperor." That  
 Origen wrote *several letters* to the Emperor  
 Philip, and that they were *edifying letters*, are  
 circumstances of which, it is probable, Eusebi-  
 us knew nothing. For ought that we learn  
 from ancient writers, this *single letter* address-  
 ed by Origen to the Emperor, might have  
 been a petition, or something of mere form.

That Philip was reported to have been  
 a Christian, even in his own times, is  
 certain. "They who were reported  
 "to have been openly Christians." [οἱ  
 λεχθέντες ἀναφανδον Χριστιανοὶ γεγονέναι], are  
 the words of Dionysius, unquestionably al-  
 luding to Philip and his son. *Euseb. Hist.*  
*Eccles. l. 7. c. 10.* He says this in his epistle  
 to Hermammon, written about the begin-  
 ning of the ninth year of the Emperor Gal-  
 lien. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 23.*; that  
 is, probably, about eighteen years after the

death of Philip : and it will be observed, that Dionysius here speaks of a report which had prevailed *before* the time of his writing, [οἱ λεχθέντες]. Perhaps the words may only imply, “they who were openly or publicly “ reported to have been Christians ;” but the difference, as to the sense of the passage, is not material.

There is no sufficient reason for believing, that Philip was a Christian. Educated among Arabian robbers, he might be supposed little conversant in the Roman superstitions ; and from considerations of policy, he might incline to favour the Christians, who were now numerous enough, and opulent enough, to merit the regard of a politician. It appears from Cyprian’s letter to Successus, which will be transcribed in the course of this work, that the Christians, notwithstanding the persecution and defection under Decius, soon became formidable from their numbers, rank, and opulence.

*The*

*The singular benignity* of Philip towards the Christians might have given rise to a fond report, that the Emperor himself was become Christian. Nevertheless, it would seem, that judicious observers, such as Dionysius of Alexandria, did not believe the report. Dionysius no less extolls *the benignity* of Valerian towards the Christians in the earlier part of his reign; and yet Valerian was undoubtedly a Pagan, when he favoured, as when he persecuted, the Christians.

Pag. 13. l. 20.

“The Imperial edict.” Some have conjectured that Decius persecuted the Christians, because Philip favoured them; but this is a needless refinement. The more probable conjecture is, that Decius was a bigot, and therefore a persecutor.

Pag. 14. l. 1.

“That exceeding terrible day, foretold by  
“our Lord, wherein, if it were possible,

“the



“the very elect should be offended;” [τὸ φοβερώτατον, ὡς ἐν δυνάμει σκανδαλίσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς]. Under the word φοβερώτατον, might be understood, “that exceeding terrible thing, juncture, or season;” but day has been chosen, as having a better sound than the others, and as sufficiently expressing the import of the original. What is here said to have been foretold by our Lord, is not to be found in any single passage of holy writ; but Dionysius infers it from two passages which he has blended; the one is in *Matth. c. 24. v. 10.* καὶ τότε σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί. The other is in *Mark, c. 13. v. 22.* πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, ἐν δυνάμει, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς. In translating the word σκανδαλίσαι, the example of the English interpreters of the Bible has been followed, although *to cause them to stumble into the snare*, might appear an interpretation approaching nearer to the sense of the original.

From the death of Severus until about the

the accession of Decius, a period of *thirty-eight* years, there had been no persecution of the Christians. Some ecclesiastics indeed, had suffered under the Barbarian Maximin; but in the language of ancient Christian writers, the sufferings of a few individuals obtained not the name of *a persecution*. After so long tranquillity, there were not many Christians left who could compare their present tribulation with that of former times; and hence they were the more dismayed at the approach of persecution, and less prepared to endure it. An author of that age has well, although not elegantly, expressed this sentiment. “*Persecutio post longam retrò ætatis pacem repentè oborta, de inopinato et infueto malo ad turbandum populum nostrum terribilior effecta est.*” *Firmilianus*, ap. Cypr. p. 222. edit. Fell.

Pag. 14. l. 9.

“At the first general summons.” The edict of Decius is not extant. It was, probably,

bably, verbose, with a preamble, setting  
 forth, " That the worship of the immor-  
 " tal Gods was essential to the preserva-  
 " tion of that empire, which, by the pa-  
 " tronage of the immortal Gods, had been  
 " established, and hitherto upheld; that the  
 " Emperors Decius and his son were princes  
 " most religious and gracious; that, in pro-  
 " secution of their general design to restore  
 " the purity of Roman manners, they were  
 " desirous of delivering the empire from the  
 " recent and criminal superstition of the  
 " Christians. But as it was the duty of a  
 " humane judge to endeavour to reclaim,  
 " rather than to punish, those deluded en-  
 " thusiasts, therefore the Emperors com-  
 " manded, That if the Christians consented  
 " to cast a few grains of incense upon the al-  
 " tars of the immortal Gods, they should be  
 " dismissed from the tribunal in safety, and  
 " with applause; but if they persisted in their  
 " criminal

“criminal obstinacy, that they should be  
“capitally punished.”

The edict might have been expressed in few words : “Christiani Diis immortalibus  
“*facra faciant ; sin abnuant, perquirantur ;*  
“*deprehenſi, capite luant.*”

Dionysius relates the behaviour of the Christians in Egypt on the day that persecution came upon them while they were at ease in their possessions. I presume not to affirm, that he writes with the elegance of Xenophon, yet I might appeal to all who are capable of understanding his language, and who have studied the authors of the third century, whether there be any thing of historical composition in *that age* which can equal the force and perspicuity of his narrative.

He first distinguishes the Christians into three classes : 1. Men of eminence, or who were in office ; 2. Those specially cited to appear, and offer incense ; 3. Those who were neither in office, nor specially cited,

L

yet

yet who fell under the general enactment of the edict.

He divides the *first* class into three sorts :  
 1. Those who through pusillanimity abjured the faith as soon as the edict was promulgated : 2. Those who, being in public office, assisted at the promulgation of the edict, and were suddenly called to obey it ; and, on the sudden, had not courage to avow the faith. So Valesius understands the passage : “ Ego  
 “ δημοσιεύσας idem esse censeo ac τὰ δημόσια  
 “ πράσσοντας, id est, Decuriones et Magistra-  
 “ tus. Hi enim, cùm allatum esset edictum  
 “ Imperatoris Decii, quo omnes Diis immor-  
 “ talibus sacrificare jubebantur, convenire in  
 “ curiam ex more, ibique edictum ipsum  
 “ dum recitaretur, stantes audire necesse ha-  
 “ bebant, ut scribit Johannes Chrysostomus  
 “ non uno in loco. ita primi omnium De-  
 “ curiones, statim post recitatum Imp. Decii  
 “ edictum, Diis sacrificârunt, cùm ex necessi-  
 “ tate officii sui ad curiam convenissent.” If  
 this



this should appear to have an air too modern, and too much to resemble the registering a French edict in parliament, the passage may be interpreted more generally, of men who, by being engaged in public business, could not conceal themselves, or escape unobserved. That Christians in those days exercised the offices of magistracy properly so called, is uncertain. 3. Those who were treacherously seized, and brought before the Heathen tribunal. Of their behaviour we have no particular account.

Of the *second* class, namely, of those who were specially cited, and appeared, he mentions two sorts: 1. Those who abjured the Christian religion merely through fear of death; 2. Those who not only sacrificed, but also denied that they had ever been Christians. Under this division he seems to number the opulent, by using the word δυσκόλως, and referring to Matth. c. 19. v. 23. Mark,

c. 10. v. 23. Luke, c. 18. v. 24. where that word is uniformly employed.

The *third*, and most numerous class, was of persons who were neither of eminence, nor in office, nor specially cited, and yet fell under the general enactment of the edict. Dionysius dividesthem into four sorts :  
 1. Those who from timidity abjured the faith ;  
 2. Those who with effrontery denied the faith ; 3. Those who fled ; and, 4. Those who were seized.

He subdivides those who were seized into three different sorts : 1. Those who abjured the faith before they were brought to trial ; 2. Those who were compelled by tortures to sacrifice ; 3. Those who persevered, through tortures, and even unto death.

This analysis tends to shew, " That at the  
 " time of the Decian persecution, all faith-  
 " ful Christians in Egypt either abandoned  
 " their country, and fled they knew not  
 " whither,

“whither, or were brought to trial by virtue of the Imperial edict.”

The Christians who survived the storm, did not attempt to conceal or palliate the sad defection in the days of the Emperor Decius: neither indeed could they; for the defection was too general to be concealed or palliated; and, as we learn from ecclesiastical history, what originally afforded matter of regret, afterwards became the cause of bitter dissension among Christians; for while some were, perhaps, too ready to receive the apostates into the communion of the church, others were over-rigorous in excluding them. This of itself evinces, that the persecution in Egypt was not so slight as some have inconsiderately asserted. From the great number of the apostates we may conclude, that an universal conformity to the rites of Paganism had been severely required.

Pag. 15. l. 19.

“The firm and blessed pillars [in the temple]”

"ple.] of our Lord;" [οἱ δὲ στεῖργοι καὶ μακάριοι  
 εἰς οὗτοι τοῦ Κυρίου]. Here there seems to be an  
 allusion to Rev. c. 3. v. 12. ποιήσω αὐτὸν εἰς-  
 λον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. Dionysius says,  
 "Pillars of our Lord." But as he alludes  
 to this passage in the Revelations, we may  
 conclude, either that the expression ἐν τῷ ναῷ,  
 [in the temple], is implied, or that it has  
 dropt out in transcribing.

Pag. 15. l. 20.

"Having been strengthened by him." Two  
 expressions, nearly synonymous, occur here.  
 Κραταιωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, and δυνάμει καὶ καρτερίαν  
 λαβόντες. This, joined to the expressions of  
 στεῖργοι εἰς οὗτοι, and τῆς ἰσχυρᾶς ἐν ἐαυτοῖς πίστεως,  
 would give an air of tautology to a literal  
 translation.

Pag. 16. l. 8.

"Borne by two other Christians." It was  
 singularly unfeeling to compel those two men  
 to bear their fellow-prisoner to that tribunal  
 where they themselves were to be tried to-  
 gether

gether with him. "Res est sacra miser," was the generous sentiment of a Christian philosopher; a sentiment of more worth than many entire systems of law and theology.

Pag. 16. l. 18.

"With fire," in the original, "unquenchable fire;" [ $\alpha\varsigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\lambda\omega\ \piυ\rho\iota$ ]. This, when applied to a human punishment, would have sounded uncouthly in our language. Valesius supposes "quick-lime" to be here understood; and he quotes the *Menea*, or Greek Martyrology, where it is said of Julian and Gronion,  $\alpha\varsigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\lambda\epsilon\ \zeta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\lambda'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}\ \epsilon\kappa\chiυ\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . But this may be no more than the explanatory conjecture of the Martyrologist. I know not why *quick-lime* should have the peculiar appellation of "unquenchable fire." The more reasonable supposition is, that an intense fire is here meant, or one constantly supplied with fresh fuel, till the body of the martyr was perfectly consumed.

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Pag. 16. l. 19.

“ A certain soldier named *Befas*.” This person deserves a better place in the military Martyrology than some others, supposed to have been of his profession, who have borne away the palm from him on very dubious evidence. He interposed, like a brave man, to restrain the cowardly insults of the populace, and, like a good soldier, to preserve order: for whatever might have been the offences of the Christians in the eye of the Heathen magistrate, surely the populace had no authority to insult and abuse the criminals.

Pag. 17. l. 10.

“ Named *Makar*.” In the original there is added, τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐνλογίαν ἀληθῆς Μάκαρ. Here there is an allusion to a Greek word which cannot be preserved in the version. The man's name was *MACAR*; and *this*, Dionysius, by means of a Greek termination, understands to be equivalent

to *Macarius*, "Blessed," or "Benedict." The remark is trifling, and strangely misplaced in a narrative so serious and interesting.

Pag. 17. l. 16.

"Having been scourged." *Dionysius* adds, that they endured ζυσήρας, which *Valesius* translates "ferreos ungues." But it does not appear that ζυσήρ is ever used for "an iron claw or hook." Perhaps "they were scarified," might be an apt translation.

Pag. 18. l. 5.

"And therefore the governor purposely strove," &c. Every person brought before his tribunal, and professing faith in Christ, must have held the language of AMMONARIUM. Hence it may be conjectured, that AMMONARIUM answered the Prefect with uncommon emphasis of language; and that he, in return, tortured her φιλονείκως, —the full force of which word cannot be expressed in English.

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Pag.

Pag. 18. l. 9.

“ Another AMMONARIUM.” Eusebius speaks of *four* women, and yet gives the names of *three* only. The words “ another AMMONARIUM,” which have dropt out of the Greek text, are restored from the Latin version of Rufinus.

Pag. 20. l. 2.

“ Incomparable.” [ὁ θεοπρεπέστατος]. It was necessary to depart, in some measure, from the original. “ Most Godlike,” would have been hardly tolerable in modern English, however well it might have suited the style used in the days of Dionysius of Alexandria.

Pag. 20. l. 8.

“ Altogether cleared himself of that accusation ;” [ἀποδυσάμενος ταύτην τὴν ἀλλοθριωλήν καὶ αὐτὴ διαβολὴν]. Literally, “ having put off this most foreign accusation.” This literal interpretation is added for the benefit of those who, not understanding the original,

original, may have had recourse to loose interpretations.

Of NEMESION, unless from this passage, we know nothing. One would have imagined, that from this passage no doubt could arise, “whether NEMESION was accused before the Prefect as the associate of thieves, or as a Christian;” and yet Dionysius of Alexandria has been quoted, with the view of placing NEMESION in a sort of middle state between thief and Christian! Dionysius evidently censures the injustice of the Prefect, in endeavouring to confound NEMESION among real criminals in *the mode of punishment*, whom he could not on *the trial*. This wicked and shallow policy might have served to mislead the rabble of Alexandria, but it was not calculated to deceive philosophic and well-informed historians.

Pag. 20. l. 16.

“Between two *thieves* ;” [μεταξύ των ληστών].  
Following our English translation of the Bi-

ble, I have used the word *thieves*, although *robbers* be the more accurate translation.

Pag. 20. l. 19.

“ A party of soldiers.” It is impossible to express the sense of the original, *σύνταγμα στρατιωτικόν*, without offending the delicacy of the critics in style, who admit nothing low or vulgar in translations; and yet, in truth, the sense of the original would be best expressed thus: “ some soldiers of *one mess*.”

Pag. 21 l. 8.

“ By united gestures shewed the interest they took in the event;” [*συνεσχημαλίζοντο ταῖς σώμασιν*]. Some latitude of translation is here assumed. The words to be supplied might be, “ they encouraged him to persevere,” or, “ they abhorred his pusillanimity.” A middle course has been chosen; and general words, applicable to either meaning, have been used.

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Pag. 21. l. 13.

“ To the bar ;” properly to the seat on which persons accused were placed.

Pag. 21. l. 14.

“ Then were the governor and his counsellors sore afraid.” Observing the behaviour of AMMON and his companions, they dreaded a general insurrection of the legionary soldiers; an event most formidable in a province, and capable of shaking, and even of overturning, the empire. Happily for the honour of the Christian faith, there was no ground for such apprehensions.

Pag. 22. l. 2.

“ In great number ;” [πλείους]; and a little below, τὸ πλῆθος. Mr Dodwell, a person of much learning and integrity, was alternately under the dominion of prejudice and of paradox. At one season, when the spirit of paradox had the ascendant, he wrote of the small number of martyrs in the primitive church. There are who, without  
his

his prejudices, have vouchsafed to adopt his paradoxes. I pretend not to say, that there were *legions* of martyrs in the primitive ages of the Christian church : but to affirm, on the other hand, that in the Decian persecution, for example, there were *very few martyrs*, while Dionysius, an eye-witness of great authority, affirms, that there were *very many*, appears capriciously sceptical. Indeed it would seem, from the narrative of Dionysius, that at that time every faithful Christian, in a greater or in a less degree, partook of the common calamity.

Pag. 22 l. 8.

“The hired servant,” [ἐπὶ μισθῷ]. Ischurion was a free man; and therefore the cruelty of this magistrate admits not of any palliative.

Pag. 22. l. 12.

“Evil intreated him.” In the original it is said, that when Ischurion would not comply his master ὑβρίζειν; and when he persevered,

vered, προειρηλάκιζεν. This shews something more to be implied in the latter than in the former word; but it seemed impossible to express the distinction in English, and therefore the general sense of the passage has been given.

Pag. 22. l. 16.

“ Having wandered in deserts and  
“ mountains,” [ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ὄρεσι πλανηθέντων];  
alluding to Heb. c. 11. v. 38, ἐν ἐρημίαις  
πλανώμενοι καὶ ὄρεσι.

Pag. 23. l. 7.

“ Nilus,” otherwise called Nilopolis, in  
Upper Egypt.

Pag. 23. l. 8.

“ The Arabian mountain,” in Upper E-  
gypt, *Herodot.* ii. 8. ; sometimes called “ the  
“ Trojan mountain,” from a town in the  
neighbourhood, reported to have been found-  
ed by the Trojans, whom Menelaus had  
made captive, *Strabo*, l. 17. p. 809.

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Pag. 23. l. 11.

“ Them or their remains;” [οὐτε αὐτοὺς οὐτε τὰ σώματα]. Literally, “ could neither find them nor their bodies;” that is, “ could not find them, either dead or a-  
“ live.”

Pag. 24. l. 11.

“ Will hereafter pronounce sentence on  
“ the world.” There is here an allusion to various passages of scripture. See Matth. c. 19. v. 28.; Luke, c. 22. v. 30.; and especially 1 Cor c. 6. v. 2 οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τον κόσμον κρινῶσι.

Pag. 24. l. 20.

“ Took them in;” [συνήγαγον]. This is the expression used in Matth. c. 25. v. 35.—38. ξένος ἡμῶν καὶ συνηγάγεται με.—πότε δὲ σε εἶδομεν ξένον, καὶ ξυνηγάγομεν. The translation is made on the supposition that Dionysius alluded to this affectionate passage.

Pag. 25. l. 2.

“ Fellowship of prayer, and breaking of  
I “ bread;”

“bread;” [προσευχῶν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐσιτάσεων ἐκοινῶ-  
νησαν]. It would seem that the ΑΓΑΠΑΙ  
of the Christians, or, as they are vulgarly  
called, their “love-meetings,” are here un-  
derstood. Valefius, in his notes on Euse-  
bius, has a dissertation on the private and  
public communion of the primitive church.  
He discovers many difficulties, and various  
subjects of controversy, in this passage of Di-  
onyfius, which certainly would not occur to  
common readers, and therefore shall be left  
untouched. There is one expression, howe-  
ver, in that note, which cannot be allowed  
to pass without animadversion. Valefius  
says, “Plerique Martyrum erant ex cle-  
“ro.” i. e. “The Martyrs were generally  
“ecclesiastics.” That Valefius, a believing  
layman, should have made this observation,  
contrary to the truth of history, is somewhat  
singular; and the more so, that he has in-  
serted it in his notes on the narrative of Dio-  
nyfius, who, although an ecclesiastic him-  
N self,



self, only specifies one ecclesiastic [Chæremion] that perished in the Decian persecution: but here Valefius had some particular hypothesis to serve; and on such occasions, even ingenious and learned men are apt to be dim-sighted.

Mr Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. p. 665. observes, that “the controversy concerning  
“the treatment of penitent apostates, does  
“not occur among the Christians of the  
“preceding century.” And he puts this question, “Shall we ascribe this to the  
“superiority of their faith and courage, or  
“to our less intimate knowledge of their  
“history?” The question is proper and judicious, and it admits of an easy solution. Although *we have not*, the Christians of the third century *had*, an intimate knowledge of the history of the second century; for the events were recent then, of which we now speak as ancient. We know that there have been apostates in all ages; and, in particular,

lar, that there were such in the second century after Christ. This appears from the epistle of the church at Smyrna, and from the account of the martyrs at Lyons, in the reign of the Antonines. Some of the apostates immediately returned to the service of their master, and in his cause suffered tortures and death ; while others, to use an expression of that age, “ remained without.”—Had the number of penitent apostates in the second century been great, the practice of the church concerning them would have been mentioned in the controversy which unhappily arose after that memorable defection in the third century.

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*The Trial and Execution of Cyprian,  
Bishop of Carthage.*

Pag. 26. l. 1.

“ In the fourth consulate of Valerian,

N 2

“ and

“and third of Gallien.” This date is sup-  
 posed to correspond with the year 257 of  
 the vulgar æra. The Emperor Valerian, in  
 the earlier part of his reign, had favoured  
 the Christians. Very remarkable to this  
 purpose are the words of Dionysius Bishop  
 of Alexandria, *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 10.*  
 “No one of his predecessors behaved with  
 “so much benignity and favour towards the  
 “Christians, not even they who, as it has  
 “been reported, were openly Christians,  
 “[meaning Philip and his son], as Valerian  
 “did in the beginning of his reign. His  
 “whole house was filled with devout wor-  
 “shippers, and it was even as a church of  
 “God.” Valerian now began to persecute  
 them at the instigation of Macrianus, *Euseb.*  
*ib.* This Macrianus, otherwise called *Ma-*  
*crinus*, was at once a fanatic, intoxicated  
 with the magical superstitions of Egypt, and  
 a selfish unprincipled politician. *He* who  
 represented the Christians to be enemies of  
 the

the state, took up arms himself against Gallien, the son of his benefactor, and fought to invest his own children with the Imperial purple. In this attempt, they all perished by the hands of other usurpers; Zonaras, l. 12. c. 24. and Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 23. where Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, elegantly records the actions and the fate of Macrianus; *ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶ βασιλέων τὸν μὲν πρέμενος, τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέμετος παγγενὴς ἐξεφανίσθη.*

Pag. 26. l. 4.

“In the cabinet;” [in secretario]; *σέκρετον, δικαστήριον, χαρτοφυλάκιον, συνέδριον; Gloss. Græc.* Such dissonant interpretations are of small moment in leading us to the sense of the word. It has been translated *secretary's office*, and *private council chamber*; and it might with equal propriety be translated *register-office*; but the phrase *the cabinet* is chosen as expressing that place in which the private

private business of government is understood to be transacted.

Pag. 26. l. 4.

“ Proconsul of Africa.” Much about the same time, and on a like occasion, Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, was brought before Æmilian, the Prefect of Egypt. The account of the proceedings, as given by Dionysius himself, is preserved in *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 11.* Dionysius *there* says, “ Hear the very words uttered by the Prefect, and myself, as they are in *the record*; “ [*ὡς ὑπεμνηματίσθη*].— Dionysius, and “ Faustus, and Maximus, and Marcellus, “ and Chæremon, having been brought in, “ Æmilian the Prefect said, I have represented to you the humane intentions of “ our Emperors concerning you; for they “ have enabled you to preserve yourselves, “ if, turning to that which is agreeable to “ nature, and putting away the remembrance of that which is contrary to nature,



“ ture, you will worship the Gods, who  
“ are the saviours of the empire. Now,  
“ therefore, what say you? I expect that  
“ you will gratefully acknowledge the hu-  
“ manity of the Emperors; for they study  
“ to bring you over to the better part.  
“ Dionysius answered, All men do not wor-  
“ ship all Gods; but each man worships  
“ such as he imagines to be Gods. We  
“ reverence and worship *One*, the God and  
“ Creator of the universe; him who hath  
“ placed the government in the hands of  
“ the Emperors Valerian and Gallien, high-  
“ ly beloved of God; and to him we in-  
“ cessantly pray, that their government may  
“ remain unshaken. *Æm.* What hindereth  
“ that you worship him, if he is indeed  
“ God, together with those who by nature  
“ are Gods? for you have been command-  
“ ed to worship *the Gods*, and those espe-  
“ cially whom all men acknowledge. *Dion.*  
“ We worship no other God beside one.

“ *Æm.*

" *Æm.* I perceive that ye are void of grati-  
 " tude, and that ye have no sense of the  
 " clemency of our sovereigns. Wherefore  
 " ye shall abide no longer in this city, but  
 " ye shall be sent into the territories of Li-  
 " bya, to a place named *Cephra*; for, ac-  
 " cording to the Imperial mandate, I have  
 " appointed for you that place of banish-  
 " ment. Neither are ye, or any others, per-  
 " mitted to hold assemblies, or to enter in-  
 " to *cemeteries*, as they are called: and  
 " whoever repairs not to the place which I  
 " have appointed, or is found in any as-  
 " sembly, let it be at his peril; for suitable  
 " chastisement will, in no sort, be omitted.  
 " Depart, then, according to my command."

Pag. 27. l. 5.

"The *One* and the true God." Cyprian,  
 avowing himself to be a religious Theist,  
 employed the very words of the Decalogue.

Pag. 27. l. 10.

"For thee;" [*pro vobis*]. The reading  
 2 more

more generally received is "pro nobis," "for ourselves;" yet, "for thee," appears more consonant with the apostolical precept, 1 Tim. c. 2. v. 1. 2. παρακαλῶ ἐν πρώτῳ πάντων ποιῆσαι δεήσεις—ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων.

Pag. 27. l. 17.

"To the city *Curubis*," or *Eurobis*, in the district of Zeugitania, now called *Gurba*, on the north side of the bay of Haman-et. See *Shaw's Travels*, p. 90. 4to edit.

Pag. 28. l. 7.

"Well and fitly have your own laws prohibited *informers*." See *Sueton. Titus*, c. 8.; *Domitianus*, c. 9.; *Plin. Paneg. ad Trajanum*, l. 2. *Dig. de jure Fisci*.; *Lamprid. Commodus*, p. 52. edit. *Salmas.*

For understanding the just import of the answer made by Cyprian, and its connection with the Imperial constitutions, we must remember, that under the capital punishments

O

inflicted

inflicted on Christians, the *confiscation* of their estates was included.

Pag. 28. l. 13.

“ Voluntary appearance before the judgment-seat is forbidden by *our institutions* ;”  
 Ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει τάνη, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην ; *Matth. c. 10. v. 23.* “ That the poor hunted Christians should take “ to cover,” was the precept of their heavenly Master, and it was religiously observed by the sober Christians of the primitive ages. Some, indeed, of warm imaginations, and filled with self-confidence, chose to be more zealous in the service of their Lord than he himself had required; and they encountered *that* persecution which *he* had counselled them to shun. The consequences, early felt in the Christian church, are well described in the epistle from the brethren at Smyrna, p. 6. Concerning this subject there are some strange and crude observations to be found in the writings of eminent

minent persons of our own age. It was a maxim of Cyprian, "*Dominus nos confiteri magis voluit, quam profiteri.*" *Epist. ult.* The progress of Christianity was marvellously rapid; and hence one great argument for its divine original arises; yet, probably, the progress of Christianity would have been more rapid, and the argument thence arising would have been more illustrious, had the persecuted Christians always observed the precept which our Lord gave them.

Pag. 28. l. 15.

"Condemned even by yourselves." The sarcasm of Arrius Antoninus is well known, when the Christians voluntarily presented themselves at the judgement-seat: "Have you not halts and precipices?" ὦ δέσποτα, εἰ θέλετε ἀποδύσκειν, κρημνὸς ἢ βρόχος ἔχετε; *Tertullian. ad Scap.*

Pag. 29. l. 2.

"That no *private assemblies* be any where held;" [*conciliabula*]. It is not impro-



bable, that by this contemptuous word, implying *petty councils*, the synods of the Christians, as well as their stated religious assemblies, are understood.

Pag. 29. l. 3.

“ That no persons do presume to enter  
“ into *cemeteries* ;” [ne cœmeteria ingredi-  
antur]. The ancient Christians were wont  
to assemble for prayer at the tombs of just  
men departed. This practice, however  
harmless and laudable in itself, had conse-  
quences which they foresaw not.

Pag. 29. l. 12.

“ After Cyprian had long remained *there* ;”  
for a complete year, as appears from what  
follows in the narrative.

About this time Cyprian wrote a letter to  
his friend Successus, *Ep. 79. al. 80.* It is  
remarkable on many accounts, and is of  
the following import. “ I am to inform  
“ you, that the persons are returned whom  
“ I sent to Rome, in order to procure au-  
“ thentic

" thentic intelligence of the nature of the  
 " ordinances issued against us by the Empe-  
 " ror : for reports were various and uncer-  
 " tain, and men formed different judge-  
 " ments concerning them. The true state  
 " of the fact is this. Valerian has sent a re-  
 " script to the senate, commanding, That  
 " bishops, presbyters, and deacons, should  
 " forthwith receive capital punishment : That  
 " senators, persons in eminent offices, [viri  
 " egregii], and Roman knights, be depri-  
 " ved of their dignities and fortunes ; and,  
 " if they still persist in avowing themselves  
 " Christians, that they be put to death :  
 " That honourable women [matronæ] be  
 " deprived of their goods, and sent into ba-  
 " nishment : That the freedmen of the  
 " Emperor, [Cæsariani], who did already,  
 " or might hereafter, avow themselves Chri-  
 " stians, should have their goods confisca-  
 " ted, be inrolled in the list of slaves, and  
 " transmitted, in bonds, to the Imperial  
 " domains.

“ domains. The Emperor has subjoined to  
 “ his rescript, a copy of the circular letter  
 “ which he has drawn up concerning us,  
 “ and is to send to the governors of provin-  
 “ ces. We look daily for the arrival of the  
 “ letter. We stand constant in faith, and  
 “ prepared to suffer; and we hope to ob-  
 “ tain the crown of everlasting life, through  
 “ the aid and grace of our Lord.— I am al-  
 “ so to inform you, that on the 6th of Au-  
 “ gust, Xistus [Bishop of Rome] suffered  
 “ death in the place called the *Cemetery*;  
 “ and that Quartus suffered death together  
 “ with him. Moreover, the Prefects of  
 “ Rome assiduously carry on the persecution,  
 “ in obedience to the commands of the Em-  
 “ peror, against all those who are brought  
 “ before them.— I request you to com-  
 “ municate this intelligence to your col-  
 “ leagues, that by means of their exhorta-  
 “ tions, all the brethren may be strengthen-  
 “ ed, and prepared for the spiritual combat.”

There

There is nothing fanatical or enthusiastic in this letter. Its style is simple and composed; and it expresses the sentiments of a good man, who was calmly preparing himself, and who wished that all his brethren might be prepared, to encounter sufferings and death in the cause of their common Christianity.

Pag. 29. l. 17.

“Cyprian abode at his country-house.” When Cyprian became a convert to Christianity, he sold his estate, and distributed the price among the poor. Afterwards he became again possessed of the same estate, probably by gift. Pontius, his deacon, says, that Cyprian re-acquired it “through the favour of God;” [*ad hortos inter initia fidei venditos, et Dei indulgentiâ restitutos, &c.*]. This is piously and truly spoken, yet they who are curious to learn the particulars of Cyprian’s life, would have desired more accurate information.

Pag.

Pag. 29. l. 20.

“As had been foreshewn unto him.” Pontius relates, that Cyprian, while in banishment, had a dream, from the circumstances of which he inferred, that he was again to be taken into custody, and to be beheaded.

Pag. 30. l. 2.

“In the consulate of Fuscus and Bassus,” A. D. 258. See *Pearson*, Annal. Cypr. *Memmius Fuscus* is sometimes called *Tuscus*.

Pag. 30. l. 3.

“Two officers;” called “Strator officii,” and “Equiftrator.” It would be a tedious and unprofitable labour, to explain the nature of those offices; and it would be very difficult to assign corresponding names to them in our language: suffice it to observe, that they were *civil*, not *military* offices.

Pag. 30. l. 6.

“To Sexti;” said to have been a place  
i fix



six miles from Carthage, on the side of Utica. *Paul. Diacon.*

Pag. 30. l. 12.

“ In the street called *Saturn’s*, between  
“ the temples of the Heathen divinities *Venus* and *Health* ;” [in vico, qui dicitur *Saturni*, inter *Veneream* et *Salutariam*]. This interpretation is adopted by Bishop Fell, in his edition of Cyprian. Perhaps *via* is understood. There is a passage somewhat similar in *Suetonius*, Nero, c. 48. : “ Inter *Salariam* et *Nomentanam* viam.”

Pag. 30. l. 16.—20.

“ That the young maidens — should be  
“ kept at home ;” [custodiri]. In some copies it is “ castigari,” which Rigaltius thus explains : “ Admonuit ut castissimè sese haberent, castitatis, sanctitatis, et pudicitiae memores.” The reading “ custodiri,” appears more simple; and it is the ancient reading : “ Quid illud, quod cùm in alium  
“ diem dilatus esset, atque illuc se multitu-

“ do fratrum ac sororum congregans pro  
 “ foribus — pernoctaret, *custodiri puellas*  
 “ præcepit;” *Augustin.* Serm. 309. n. 4. —  
 “ A principe detentus, virginum pudicitiam  
 “ — *custodivit* ;” *Fulgentius*, serm. 6.

This passage exhibits a lively picture of Cyprian's unceasing attention to decency and good order; to use the words of Mr Gibbon, p. 658. “ The Bishop exercised a last  
 “ and very proper act of jurisdiction, by  
 “ directing that the younger females, who  
 “ watched in the street, should be remo-  
 “ ved from the dangers and temptations of  
 “ a nocturnal croud.”

Pag. 31. l. 6.

“ In the hall named *Sauciolum* ;” [in atrio *Sauciolo*]. “ Ad locum examinationis reo-  
 “ rum nullus clericus accedat, neque inter-  
 “ fit atrio *Sauciolo*, ubi pro reatûs sui quali-  
 “ tate quispiam interficiendus est;” *Concil.*  
*Matiscop.* ii. c. 19. This shews it to have  
 been

been a place serving for the trial and execution of criminals.

Pag. 31. l. 14.

“ Of the sacrilegious sect ;” [Tu Papam te sacrilegæ mentis hominibus præbuidisti]. A fit appellation for those who derided *the immortal Gods* ! — A modern would have quibbled for half a day as to the import of the phrases *Papa*, and *sacrilegæ mentis homines* : But Cyprian understood the question to mean, however harshly and insultingly expressed, “ Art thou a Christian Bishop ?” and he made answer accordingly.

Pag. 32. l. 5.

“ Advised with his council.” According to the form observed in provincial judicatories among the Romans. A like expression occurs, Acts, c. 25. v. 12. τέλει ὁ Φῆσος συλ-  
λαλήσας μετὰ τῆ συμβουλίας.

Pag. 32. l. 7.

“ Being hardly able to pronounce the  
“ words ;” [vix ægrè dixit verbis hujusmo-  
di].

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Pag. 32. l. 7.

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“ words ;” [vix ægrè dixit verbis hujusmo-  
di].



di]. When the Proconsul pronounced sentence, he was greatly indisposed, and he died soon after. It seems that through indisposition, he was hardly able to pronounce the words. Dr Lardner, *Testimonies*, t. 3. p. 91. translates the passage, "in angry terms;" but Mr Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. p. 658. "with some reluctance." The learned must determine as to the merits of the various translations.

Mr Gibbon adds, that the sentence was conceived in the following terms: "That  
 "Thascius Cyprianus should be immediately  
 "beheaded, as the enemy of the Gods of  
 "Rome, and as the chief and ringleader of  
 "a criminal association, which he had se-  
 "duced into an impious resistance against  
 "the laws of the Most Holy Emperors Vale-  
 "rian and Gallienus." The sentence is well turned, yet it expresses not the full meaning of the Proconsul.

The same agreeable writer is of opinion,  
 that

that in the trial of Cyprian every thing was conducted with the greatest courtesy by the Proconsul. It was necessary that the Imperial mandate should be obeyed; the trial was short, but regular; and “the manner  
 “ of the execution of Cyprian was the  
 “ mildest and least painful that could be in-  
 “ flicted on a person convicted of any capi-  
 “ tal offence.” Of this, however, no man *living* could be a competent judge, unless he had been previously hanged *and* beheaded.

But, after all, what are the expressions of the Proconsul, in which, if translated into familiar language, a plain English reader would discover any thing but “hard words  
 “ and hanging?” For example, “Are *you*  
 “ the ringleader of the profane crew?—  
 “ You are an old incorrigible offender, the  
 “ professed enemy of piety, and the chief of  
 “ a gang of heinous malefactors: your blood  
 “ is required for the establishment of reli-  
 “ gious order; and you are to be instantly  
 “ beheaded.”

“beheaded.” This translation is not elegant, but it is just.

Pag. 32. l. 16.

“The Emperors Valerian, and Gallien, “and Valerian Cæsar.” In the original there is added, “Pii et Sacratissimi Principes;” i. e. “Our religious and most hal-  
 lowed Princes.” It was judged expedient to omit such superfluities of ceremony in the translation. Valerian Cæsar was the younger son of the Emperor Valerian, but not by the mother of Gallien. His father had lately conferred on him the dignity of *Cæsar*. *Trebellius Pollio* hesitates as to this title. *Gallieni duo*, p. 181. edit. *Salmas.*  
 “*Quem multi Augustum, multi Cæsarem, mul-  
 ti neutrum fuisse dicunt.*” In the record of the trial of Cyprian, the younger Valerian is not mentioned as *Cæsar*, under the proconsulship of *Aspasius Paternus*, in A. D. 257.; but he is, under the proconsulship of *Galerius Maximus*, in A. D. 258. This  
 shews,

shews, not only that he was created *Cæsar*, but also points out the precise time of his obtaining that dignity. See also *Pearson. Annal. Cypr. ad an. 259.*

Pag. 33. l. 4.

“ Religion shall be established by thy  
 “ blood;” [sanguine tuo fancietur discipli-  
 na]. The ambiguity of the original is pre-  
 served in the translation. *Galerius Maxi-*  
*mus* intended to speak of Polytheism, and  
 yet his words are applicable, with equal pro-  
 priety, to the Christian religion. To the  
 men of that age, the expression appeared  
 remarkable. Certain it is, that in the e-  
 vent, the religion of the Romans *was not*  
*established*; and, if we may credit an hun-  
 dred testimonies, Christianity *was*. This  
 is expressed with more energy and elegance  
 by Mr Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, p. 662.  
 “ On these melancholy occasions, there were  
 “ many among the Gentiles who pitied,  
 “ who admired, and who were converted;  
 — “ the

— “ *the generous enthusiasm* was commu-  
“ nicated from the sufferer to the spectators,  
“ and the blood of the martyrs, according  
“ to a well-known observation, became the  
“ feed of the church.” Indeed it must  
have been an *enthusiasm* uncommonly *gene-*  
*rous*, which could induce men to forsake  
the religion of their fathers, at the hazard  
of suffering death, even the death the mild-  
est and the least painful, [p. 658], or the  
milder chastisements of imprisonment, exile,  
or *slavery in the mines*. [p. 653.]

Pag. 33. l. 16.

“He put off his robe,” &c. There is a minuteness in the description of the different parts of Cyprian’s dress, which adds to the credibility of the narrative. Many trifling commentaries have been made on the names given to the garments of Cyprian. The translator, omitting any detail of this nature, has endeavoured to speak in general terms; and, as much as possible, to avoid every



expression become mean by vulgar use.

"

Pag. 33. l. 20.

" He waited for the executioner." There is added in the MSS. " And when the executioner came, Cyprian ordered twenty-five pieces of gold to be given unto him." Bishop Fell pleasantly remarks, that this donative is to be ascribed to the liberality of copists.

Pag. 34. l. 11.

" By torch-light." Some impertinent transcriber has added, " cum voto et triumpho magno;" " with supplications and a mighty triumph." Observing the words " cum cereis," he concluded, that *here* there was a pompous procession with wax-tapers and litanies, according to the usage of later times. The truth is, that the interment of Cyprian was performed in the most private manner possible, " that his body might not be again exposed to the insults of the Gentiles." Mr Gibbon, happening to overlook this, has supposed, " that

Q

" the

“ the body was transported in a triumphal  
 “ procession, with a splendid illumination, to  
 “ the burial-place of the Christians;” p. 659.

—The commentary of Cardinal Baronius is remarkable. In the original there is “ cum  
 “ cereis et scolacibus;” i. e. “ with ropes dip-  
 “ ped in pitch, wax, or other inflammable  
 “ matter.” Baronius, not understanding the  
 word, appears to have read, “ cum *schola-*  
 “ *ribus* ;” and hence he says, “ Pristinus  
 “ hic mos — Christianos sepeliendi præ-  
 “ cedente clero diversarum classium atque  
 “ *scholarum*, accensas faces gestantibus sin-  
 “ gulis, magnâ planè pompâ.”

Had the rulers of the Romish church been  
 well advised, they would, long ere now,  
 have placed the annals of Baronius in the  
*Index Expurgatorius*: meanwhile that work  
 remains as the butt of every Protestant cri-  
 tic. The Emperor Commodus is recorded  
 to have been so skilful a marksman, that  
 “ not even the huge bulk of the elephant  
 “ could

“ could defend it from his stroke.” Protestant critics, aiming at such writers as Baronius, may rival the glory of the Emperor Commodus, when aiming at an elephant.

Pag. 34. l. 13.

“ A piece of vacant ground ;” [ad areas]: I have used this general expression, not knowing the precise meaning of the original. The words might be rendered *yard*, or *barn-floor*. Ruinart, *Acta sincera Martyrum*, p. 218. observes, that the cemeteries among the Christians were termed *area* ;—it is probable, that they received that name, because the Christians buried their dead privately in vacant grounds, the property of men well affected to their cause ; but to suppose that the *area* in question was a cemetery used by the Christians is exceedingly improbable.

There is a singular passage in Procopius, *de bello Vandalico*, l. 1. c. 21. which relates either to the place in which Cyprian was supposed to have suffered martyrdom, or to the

place in which his body was supposed to have been laid: Κυπριανόν, ἅγιον ἄνδρα μάλιστα πάντων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σέβονται; καὶ αὐτῷ νεών τινα λόγῳ πολλὰ ἄξιον πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυσάμενοι, παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνα. i. e. "The  
 " people of Carthage especially worship [or  
 " venerate] Cyprian, a holy man, having  
 " erected to him a very remarkable temple,  
 " without the city, on the sea-shore." He adds, Καὶ ἄγουσιν ἐνιαύσιον ἑορτήν, ἣν δὴ Κυπριανὰ καλεῖσι; i. e. "And they celebrate a  
 " yearly festival, which they call the *Cyprianic*."

Whether Procopius was a Heathen or a Christian, has been the subject of curious inquiry. The language of this sentence, abating the words *holy man*, is purely Pagan, however much it may be softened by interpretation. In the days of Procopius, the usages of the Christians, and the religion of Paganism, must have had an obvious resemblance; had there not been such resemblance, Procopius

pius

pius could not have spoken in this ambiguous style.

Pag. 34. l. 18.

“ The blessed Cyprian suffered,” &c. The same circumstances had been already mentioned. Hence we may conclude, that this is an addition made by transcribers.—Further, it is said, “ Our Lord Jesus reigning, to “ whom be glory and honour for ever and “ ever.” This, as Bishop Fell aptly observes, is a manifest interpolation; for that the form here used, “ Our Lord Jesus reigning,” had not at that time been introduced into the Christian church. An addition of the like nature is to be found at the end of the epistle from the brethren at Smyrna.

*The*



*The Trial and Execution of Fructuosus,  
Bishop of Tarracona in Spain, and  
of his two deacons, Augurius and  
Eulogius.*

The account of the trial and execution of Fructuosus and his two deacons has various marks of authenticity which seem to distinguish it from some narratives of the like nature too hastily admitted as genuine.

1. The *time* is mentioned in such a manner as not to be inconsistent with history; and the *place*, although not mentioned in the MS. here used, is to be learned from a MS. quoted by Valesius, *ad Euseb.* l. 9. c. 9.  
 “ Æmilianus Præses, adveniens in civitatem  
 “ *Tarraconensem*, immolavit Diis, et —  
 “ misit beneficiarios ad domum Fructuosi  
 “ *episcopi*,” &c. And the same thing is said by Prudentius: “ Felix Tarraco,” &c.

2. There is in it no pompous declamation  
 by

by the Roman magistrate, and no curious and impertinent inquiry into the grounds and reasons of the Christian religion.

3. No promise of rewards or honours is made to apostatizing Christians.

4. The persons accused, instead of displaying a verbose and systematical confession of their faith, avow that they believe in one God, and that they are Christians.

5. The Roman magistrate is not represented as holding converse with the persons condemned amidst their sufferings.

6. Some minute and apparently trivial incidents are related, which add greatly to the credibility of the narrative. Thus days, and even hours, are scrupulously specified; and the circumstances which attended the putting on and putting off the shoes of Fructuosus, are related with as much care as the circumstances of his martyrdom: This is the style of a faithful, though not of an elegant historian.

7. It

7. It may be added, that Augustin was acquainted with the story of Fructuosus, as recorded in this narrative. He has quoted the most characteristical parts of it, as will appear in the course of these notes : and although there be a long interval between the middle of the third century and the days of Augustin, and too much reason to suspect that forgers and interpolators were busy during that interval ; yet the authority of Augustin must have weight in the scale of evidence ; and, at least, will serve to shew that the account of the martyrdom of Fructuosus is not the work of a later age.

Ruinart has published many a trifling and many an ignorant story in his *Acta Martyrum sincera*. This will be acknowledged by learned men of his own communion. He generally prefaces them with a declaration, that he found them in manuscripts *eight or nine hundred years old*; that is, in manuscripts just of that age when every man who could write

write at all, wrote fables. A story which is more ancient than Augustin, has a fairer probability of being genuine. It is here rendered into English as a work bearing marks of primitive antiquity, although not so undoubtedly authentic as the narrative of Dionysius of Alexandria.

Pag. 35. l. 1.

"In the reign of the Emperors Valerian  
 "and Gallien." Valesius, *ad Euseb.* l. 9.  
 c. 9. quotes a MS. account of Fructuosus,  
 which begins thus: "Cum a Valeriano et  
 "Gallieno Impp. data esset jussio, per univer-  
 "sum orbem ut Christiani sacrificarent, Æ-  
 "milianus Præses, adveniens in civitatem  
 "Tarraconensem, immolavit Diis, et surgens  
 "de nocte, aliâ die illucente Dominicâ, misit  
 "beneficiarios ad domum Fructuosi," &c.

Pag. 35. l. 2.

"Under the consulate of Æmilian and  
 "Bassus;" about the year 1012, A. U. C.  
 supposed to correspond with the year 259

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of

of the vulgar æra. "Æmilian," probably the same person who, being Prefect of Egypt, usurped the empire. He is numbered with those who are commonly called *the Thirty Tyrants*. "Bassus," Consul, for the second time, in this year.

Baronius questions the existence of this consulate of Æmilian and Bassus; and he adds, with a sort of dictatorial exultation, "Explofis itaque consulibus ascititiis, recipiant "Fasti Consulares suos legitimos consules," &c. Bishop Pearson, *Annal. Cypr.* ad A. D. 259, and A. D. 261, confutes Baronius, and shews, that this extraordinary scepticism was assumed, in order to aid a favourite hypothesis.

Pag. 35. l. 8.

"The *exempted* soldiers;" [beneficiarii]; men, who, having distinguished themselves in the service, were exempted by their commanders from various military duties. See *Veget. de re militari*, l. 2. c. 7.

Pag.



Pag. 36. l. 3.

“ At his house” at Tarraco, now Tarracóna in Catalonia.

Pag. 37. l. 6.

“ Æmilian the President.” *Præses*, or Governor of the province called *Hispania Citerior*. Tarraco was one of the cities in which the *conventus juridici* were held.

Pag. 37. l. 14.

“ I know not what they have commanded.  
“ —As for me, I am a Christian.” As he added this profession of his faith in Christ, it is not improbable, that in saying, “ Nescio quid præceperunt;” [I know not what they have commanded], he meant, “ That to him it imported nothing what the Emperors had commanded.”

Pag. 38. l. 15.

“ Do not thou listen,” &c.;—“ Do not say as Fructuosus hath said.”—This seems the most obvious interpretation of the words.

Pag. 38. l. 20.

“Dost thou also worship Fructuosus?” These words of the Roman Governor are quoted by Augustin, *Serm.* 273. n. 3. “Ait ‘illi judex, Numquid et tu Fructuosum colis?’” The sense of the verb *colere*, is so vague in the Latin language, that it may signify the respect due to superiors, or the worship of the Supreme Being. It is probable, that the Roman magistrate intended to express something far short of religious honour, but that Eulogius understood the word in the obvious and popular sense.

Pag. 39. l. 17.

“That a vessel unto honour,” &c.; “[Talis enim erat, qualem Spiritus Sanctus, per beatum Paulum Apostolum, vas electionis doctorem gentium debere esse declaravit].” The phrase is so embarrassed and ambiguous, that it is difficult to determine whether the epithets ought to be applied to the Apostle Paul or to the Bishop of Tarraco: probably  
the

the latter is meant; for there appears to be an allusion to the epistle of Timothy, and especially to 2 Tim. c. 2. v. 21.

Pag. 40. l. 4.

“Wine mixed with spices;” [conditi permixti]; vulgarly called *Hipacras*.

Pag. 40. l. 7.

“About the fourth hour.” This I understand to mean *ten o'clock in the forenoon*. Fructuosus and his companions had begun a fast in prison; that is, they had religiously resolved to take no nourishment before three o'clock in the afternoon; so Prudentius understood the passage, *In honorem Fructuosi*, &c. ll. 54. 55.

“Jejunamus, ait, recusato potum,

“Nondum nona diem resignat hora.”

This was a thing of an indifferent nature; yet as Fructuosus had resolved with his companions to observe such a fast, it was the part of a conscientious man to persevere in his resolution. It may not be improper to  
remark,

remark, that in the language of those days, "agere stationem," meant, "to keep a fast," and, "solvere stationem," to "conclude a fast."

Pag. 41. l. 9.

"Thou desirest that I should pray for thee," &c. This is added from Augustin, at the place already mentioned; [Tu si vis ut pro te orem, noli recedere ab illa pro qua oro]. In the MS. the following words alone are to be found: "In mente me habere necesse est Ecclesiam Catholicam, ab Oriente usque in Occidentem diffusam." Ruinart, considering this as a most apposite authority for the cause of the *Roman-Catholic* church, has taken the pains to print it in capital letters. He appears not to have known, that Protestants believed in "the *Catholic church*, spread from the East unto the West," as truly as he himself did; and that the great matter in controversy is, whether the word *catholic* or *universal* ought to

to be understood in a more extended or more limited sense. It may be conjectured that Fructuosus meant to reprove Felix, because he requested the prayers of his departing pastor for himself alone, rather than for the Christian society at large. It is possible also, that Felix might have been of a character inclined to divisions, a character not unknown even in the primitive ages.—The passage, viewed in this light, contains a weighty and important admonition.

Pag. 42. l. 18.

“ The three children in the fiery furnace.”  
 There is added in the MS. “ Ut etiam in illis  
 “ Trinitas divina cerneretur, siquidem jam  
 “ in igne singulis constitutis, ut Pater non  
 “ deesset, et Filius subveniret, et Spiritus  
 “ Sanctus in medio ignis ambularet.” This  
 passage cannot with propriety be translated :  
 and indeed it has some appearance of being  
 an interpolation; for Prudentius, who has  
 paraphrased the story of Fructuosus, would  
 have



have preserved this rhetorical flower, had he met with it. The general allusion to the three Jewish youths in the book of Daniel, is preserved by Prudentius, although even that allusion will not stand the test of sober criticism: but it ought to be remembered, that the observations of the relater are altogether distinct from his narrative, and do not affect its credibility.

Ruinart, in his *general preface*, p. 9. remarks, that the account of the trial of a martyr may be genuine, while the account of his martyrdom, or of the circumstances of his death, may be of more dubious authority. Such things, says he, were supplied or added by the brethren, either at the time of his persecution, or at least when the proceedings at the trials came first to be collected; [*id postea suppleverunt Christiani, vel ipso persecutionis tempore, aut saltem cùm primùm in unum ejusmodi monumenta collecta fuerunt*]. This candid admission in

the general preface, seems, in some measure, to have been retracted in the course of the work itself.

Holding the admission to be just, I do not hesitate to translate the sequel of the story. There will be occasion hereafter to point out the different embellishments which, at various times, and even in different ages, it has received.

“ After these things, the wonted mighty  
 “ works of the Lord were not wanting; and  
 “ the heavens were opened to the sight of  
 “ Babylas and Mygdonius, our brethren,  
 “ of the household of Æmilian the gover-  
 “ nor; and they shewed to their mistress,  
 “ the governor’s daughter, Fructuosus and  
 “ his Deacons ascending up into heaven with  
 “ crowns on their heads, while the stakes  
 “ were yet standing to which their bodies  
 “ had been bound; and they called to Æ-  
 “ milian, saying, Come, and behold those  
 “ whom this day thou didst condemn, how  
 S “ they

“ they are admitted into heaven, according  
 “ to the hope that was in them. And when  
 “ Æmilian came, he was not worthy to be-  
 “ hold them.

“ The brethren, as being left without a  
 “ pastor, were sad ; not that they mourned  
 “ for Fructuosus, but because they felt the  
 “ want of him, and recalled to their memo-  
 “ ry the faith and sufferings of him and his  
 “ companions : and when night arrived,  
 “ they hasted to the amphitheatre with wine  
 “ to extinguish the embers about their half-  
 “ burnt bodies ; and this having been done,  
 “ every one took to himself as much as he  
 “ could of the remains of the martyrs. But  
 “ here also the mighty works of the Lord  
 “ were not wanting ; that faith might be  
 “ increased to the believers, and an example  
 “ [of divine interposition] shewn unto  
 “ babes : for it behoved the martyr Fructu-  
 “ osus in his death, and in the resurrection  
 “ of his body, to make good that which  
 “ being

" being yet alive, he had promised in our  
 " Lord and Saviour by the mercy of God.  
 " Therefore, after his martyrdom, he ap-  
 " peared to the brethren, and admonished  
 " them immediately to restore whatever each  
 " of them, through affection, had taken of  
 " his remains, and to bury the whole in one  
 " place.

" Fructuosus also shewed himself, toge-  
 " ther with his deacons, in their robes of  
 " promise, to Æmilian, who had condemned  
 " them ; and moreover taunted and up-  
 " braided him for his ineffectual cruelty  
 " towards those bodies which, as he now  
 " saw, were in a glorified state.

" And on the morrow, all the Christians  
 " who had carried away the relics of the  
 " saints, assembled ; and each man, with  
 " great fear and joy, related the vision which  
 " he had seen ; and they conveyed the re-  
 " lics to the holy church, and honourably

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" buried

“buried them under the holy altar, exulting  
“in the Lord.”

Every part of this narrative is stamped with imposture. To detect falsehood is one method of establishing truth; and therefore no pains should be spared in such detection. With respect to the present case, this will be best done by examining the particulars of the narrative itself.

“The wonted mighty works of the Lord  
“were not wanting.” This supposes, that on occasion of martyrdoms previous to the 259th year of the vulgar æra, miracles were commonly exhibited; yet the most credulous writers do not affirm this, and men of good judgement, on the faith of authentic monuments, deny it.

“And they called to Æmilian,” &c. That slaves should have thus addressed their master, is exceedingly improbable; but that being Christians, they should have thus addressed him with impunity, is impossible. That  
which



which completes the ridicule of the narrative is, that Æmilian should have gone to see the vision, and that he should have seen nothing, — because “ he was not worthy ;” although, in a few lines after, we are told, that he *did* see a similar vision. This contradiction is so palpable, that it proves the two parts of the story to have been composed by different authors. It would seem that both parts of the story are later than the age of Prudentius, for he mentions neither.

“ With wine to extinguish the embers,” &c. This is a Pagan rite ; and it is not probable, that Christians about the middle of the third century, had attained to so perfect a conformity with the rites of Paganism. By the sixth century indeed, so perfect was the conformity, that the popular religion of Christians had again become Paganism, in its garb at least, and general features.

As to the story of the brethren collecting the remains of the martyrs, sometimes called

ed *ashes*, and at other times *half-burnt bodies*, there is nothing improbable in it. One would not venture to pronounce a like judgement as to the vision, communicated separately to every one of the brethren who was possessed of any remains of the martyrs. Ruinart would not have been much edified by the story, had he adverted that it reprobates the practice of dispersing the relics of a saint all over the earth.—The translation of that passage, which attempts to shew the purpose of the vision, is obscure and embarrassed, because the original is so : it runs thus.

“ Oportebat enim. Fructuosum martyrem,  
 “ quod in sæculo per misericordiam Dei do-  
 “ cendo promiserat in Domino et Salvatore  
 “ nostro, in sua postea passione et resur-  
 “ rectione carnis comprobare.”

Prudentius seems to have given a different turn to the observation, but he has not made it more intelligible.

Sed

“ Sed ne reliquias resuscitandas,  
 “ Et mox cum Domino simul futuras,  
 “ Discretis loca dividant sepulchris,  
 “ Cernuntur niveis stolis amicti,  
 “ Mandant restitui, cavoque claudi  
 “ Mixtim marmore pulverem sacrandum.”

“ For his ineffectual cruelty,” &c.; [“ Nihil  
 “ illi profuisse, quòd frustra exutos a corpore  
 “ in terra crederet, quos cerneret gloriosos.”]  
 Perhaps the just sense is not retained in the  
 translation; for it is exceedingly difficult to  
 understand and express the meaning of such  
 verbose and dark language.

“ They conveyed the relics to the holy  
 “ church, and buried them under the holy  
 “ altar.” This is an interpolation of a still  
 later age than the others. The writer, who-  
 ever he was, appears to have forgotten, that  
 the Christians in the days of Valerian and  
 Gallien had no holy altars, and did not bu-  
 ry their dead in churches.

Whether

Whether there was any narrative drawn up in the third century concerning the circumstances which happened after the martyrdom of Fructuosus and his companions, is a matter altogether problematical, and it must so continue.

The story in the days of Prudentius, seems to have stood thus. “ An attendant of the  
 “ governor saw the heavens opened for the  
 “ reception of the martyrs, and shewed this to  
 “ the governor’s daughter. — The brethren  
 “ went, and collected the remains of the mar-  
 “ tyrs, and each man purposed to keep  
 “ what he had got: But they were admo-  
 “ nished in a vision by the martyrs to restore  
 “ the relics, and to bury them.”

All this may have been invented between the time at which Fructuosus and his deacons suffered and the age of Prudentius.

After the age of Prudentius, it would seem, that one transcriber added, “ That  
 “ Æmilian was called out to see the hea-

“ vens opened, but that he saw nothing;”  
 that a second transcriber added, “ That  
 “ Fructuosus and his companions appeared  
 “ in a vision to Æmilian;” and that a third  
 completed the tale, by recording, “ That  
 “ the brethren honourably buried the re-  
 “ mains of the martyrs in the holy church,  
 “ at the holy altar.”

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### *The Maiden of Antioch.*

This affecting story is recorded by St Ambrose, in his second book *de Virginibus*. He was a young author when he composed that treatise; and hence he has adorned his narrative with the flowers of a puerile rhetoric. I have attempted to select the chief circumstances of the story, and to relate them in grave and simple language.

Archbishop Usher having discovered a MS. account in Latin of the trial of Theo-

T

dora,



dora, and of the trial and martyrdom of Didymus, transmitted it to the Jesuits, compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*. They published it under the article 28th April, p. 572.; and in the appendix to that volume, p. 63. they published a similar account from a Greek MS. in the Vatican library.

There are some accidental omissions in the Latin copy, particularly as to the date, which in the Greek is placed under the government of Diocletian.

The story of Didymus and Theodora bears an obvious resemblance in many particulars to that of the Maiden of Antioch, recorded by St Ambrose; and hence a question has arisen among the Roman-Catholic Martyrologists, whether both narratives relate to the same fact?

Baronius, at first, imagined, that the two narratives contained the same story differently told; [Notes on the Roman Martyrology, 28th April.] But, afterwards, he retracted

tracted this opinion; [Annal. *ad an.* 309.] Papebroch favours the *latter* opinion of Baronius, *Acta Sanctorum*, 28th April; and Ruinart the *former*, *Acta sincera Martyrum*, p. 396.

The account of Didymus and Theodora appears to be an imitation of the story of the Maiden of Antioch; and, therefore, I incline to prefer the *former* opinion of Baronius.

That either the author of the account of Didymus and Theodora has imitated St Ambrose, or that St Ambrose has followed that author, is evident from perusal of the two narratives.

Papebroch calls the account which he published, *Acta accuratissima a proconsularibus monumentis penè verbo tenus sumpta*; that is, what we would call, “Almost a literal transcript of the trial at large,” &c.

The learned are now on their guard as to the *Acta proconsularia*. It is a sad truth, that

many writings under the title of " Journals  
 " of proceedings before the Roman provin-  
 " cial tribunals," have been obtruded on  
 the world by impudent forgers, no less im-  
 pudently assuming the name of Christians.

The nature of this little work allows not  
 any recapitulation of the various methods  
 which critics have employed for the detection  
 of such impostures. One test, however,  
 shall be briefly mentioned: although more  
 rarely used, it is of considerable efficacy.

In common life, men speak agreeably to  
 their condition and character; and he who  
 makes a faithful narrative of words spo-  
 ken will ascribe to every speaker the sen-  
 timents and the language which suit his con-  
 dition and character. The Horatian rule,  
 "*Cuique personæ convenientia reddito*," is  
 indispensably required of the publisher of  
 trials; and whenever he neglects it, his work  
 ceases to have even the appearance of au-  
 thenticity.

Having

Having this in view, let us inquire a little into the *Acta Didymi et Theodora*.

When Theodora had the cruel alternative proposed to her, either of sacrificing, or of being exposed in an infamous place, she, according to the *Acta*, made a speech to her judge, argumentative and rhetorical, and exactly after the manner of the *Suasoria* of Seneca. The sentiments contained in this speech are, perhaps, such as she might have adopted; but they are plainly such as no young woman of rank and modesty, and especially if estranged from the world, could have expressed in presence of her judge, and the assembled hearers.

With more propriety, St Ambrose has supposed, that the Maiden of Antioch “thought so,” or “said to herself;” [*ipsa secum*]; not that she so spake to the judge. He firstly describes her, as “prepared to endure torments, yet covered with blushes at being beheld of men;” [*paratam ad cruciatus,*

cruciatus, erubescens ad aspectus]: but the author of the *Acta* describes Theodora as loquacious, and ready to make answer.

This observation might, of itself, be sufficient to invalidate the authority of the *Acta Didymi et Theodora*. But there are others tending to the same conclusion.

That the Roman magistrate should have sworn "by the Gods," [per Deos, *Μὰ τῶς Θεῶς*], is not out of character: but that a young and recluse Christian virgin, in the days of Diocletian, should have sworn "by the Lord," [per Dominum, *Μὰ τὸν Κύριον*], is altogether improbable.

If, as is most likely, the Latin account be translated from the Greek, another objection arises to the authenticity of the pretended *Journal*, or *Acta*. In the Greek there are some words which appear to be of an age later than that of Diocletian, and particularly the epithet ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ, [Mother of God], bestowed on the Virgin Mary.

This



This naturally leads me to inquire into the purpose of the narrative in the *Acta Didymi et Theodora*.

The notion of the transcendent excellence and honour of a life devoted to religious celibacy was entertained in the Christian church from early times. Of the origin, progress, and consequences of this notion, I say nothing; although the subject, if ever discreetly and dispassionately treated, might furnish an interesting chapter in *the history of humankind*.

For exalting the honour of religious celibacy, it became fit to inculcate this doctrine, "That Providence interposed in an especial manner for the protection of the devoted virgins."

With this view it would seem, that "the acts of Didymus and Theodora" were composed. The original story, as related by St Ambrose, suited not the purpose; for the Maiden of Antioch, after having endured much

much affliction, was put to death, while the generous interposition of her deliverer only served to heighten the distress of their common catastrophe. In this there was nothing to animate the zeal, or to confirm the resolves of the devoted virgins, to whom, as I conjecture, the author of the acts of Didymus and Theodora addressed his work: and therefore, sagaciously varying the story, he related the wonderful rescue of the virgin, and left her deliverer to suffer alone.

Hence we may easily account for what has so much embarrassed Ruinart, "How  
" it came to pass that the catastrophe in the  
" acts of Didymus and Theodora was so different  
" from that in the story related by St  
" Ambrose?"

Ruinart has recourse to this desperate solution: That St Ambrose related the former part of the story from the *Journal*, or *Acta*; but that he related the conclusion, as he had heard it by common fame; [immò et in A-

tis, quæ Ambrosius legerat, id ipsum [sc. Theodoræ mortem] defuisse, ipsemet videtur innuere, cùm, post historiæ narrationem, quam ex Actis habemus, de Virginis morte locuturus, sic incipit, *Fertur puella ad locum supplicii percurrisse, &c.*]

When the poet said of Regulus,

“*Fertur pudicæ conjugis oscula,*” &c.

he meant not to insinuate, that that circumstance of the story was less authentic than the others of which he had already spoken.

The true solution of that difficulty which embarrassed Ruinart, appears to be this. The author of the Acts of Didymus and Theodora had perused the work of St Ambrose, *de Virginibus*; and if the purpose of his narrative was to shew, “that Providence interposed in an especial manner for the protection of the devoted virgins,” it will not seem strange, that a Greek Martyrologist; not over scrupulous in point of veracity, should

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have

have omitted whatever circumstances appeared unfavourable to his argument.

The account of Didymus and Theodora, as given by the old Latin Martyrologists, agrees with the narrative in St Ambrose: and hence we may conclude, that those Martyrologists knew nothing of the *Acta Didymi et Theodora*, dignified by Papebroch, and other writers of that class, with the appellation of *Acta Proconsularia*.

There is one circumstance which, at first view, might seem to imply, that Didymus and Theodora, mentioned by the old Latin Martyrologists, were different persons from the Maiden of Antioch, and her generous friend, whom St Ambrose has celebrated.

St Ambrose speaks of a Maiden at Antioch; but the Martyrologists lay the scene of the sufferings of Didymus and Theodora at Alexandria.

Ruinart accounts for this discrepancy, by supposing, that St Ambrose's memory failed him,

him, [memoriâ lapsus], and that he wrote *Antioch* instead of *Alexandria*.

With a better grace might Ruinart have ascribed the error to some careless transcriber, rather than to one of the great doctors of the Latin church; but indeed the discrepancy is merely in appearance, not real. The scene is laid at Alexandria, which may imply Alexandria *in Syria*, as well as Alexandria *in Egypt*. That a maiden, either a native of Antioch, or residing in that city, should have been tried at Alexandria, in the same province, and in the near neighbourhood, is nothing incredible or strange.

There is a story recorded by Palladius, *Lausiaca*, c. 146. which bears a very striking resemblance to the story of Theodora and Didymus. The maiden is said to have resided at Corinth; her name is not mentioned, but her deliverer is called *Magistrrianus*.

Palladius composed his *Lausiaca* about the year of our Lord 420. See *Fabricius*, *Bibl.*



Græc. t. 9. p. 4. Palladius says, that he found the story "in a little book, bearing in its title the name of *Hippolytus*, one who was personally acquainted with the Apostles." [ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλιδάρῳ ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ Ἰππολύτου τοῦ γνωρίμου των ἀποστόλων.] See *Hippolyti Opera*, t. 1. p. 283. edit. Fabric. Although this description corresponds not with any writer, now known, of the name of *Hippolytus*; yet it is supposed by the learned, that Palladius meant to speak of Hippolytus, a Bishop famous about the beginning of the third century. *Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. 5. p. 203.*

It will be remarked, that Palladius knew nothing of the author of this narrative. He only says, that the little book which contained it, had the title which he mentions. It must have been a very little book indeed, if it contained nothing else but this narrative. It was probably a miscellany; and there may have

have been something in it ascribed to some author named *Hippolytus*.

There are certain expressions in the narrative quoted by Palladius, which induce me to imagine, that it is of a later age than the beginning of the third century; but to enter into particulars, would be superfluous. There is in the narrative itself, evidence more than sufficient for proving it to be the work of an ignorant and impertinent fabulist. The learned reader will be of my opinion, when he considers the following passage. The Maiden of Corinth is represented as of most honourable birth, and exemplary in virtue.

[εὐγενεσάτη — ἀσχυμένη εἰς τὸν ἐνάρητον βίον.]

Some lewd persons came to solicit her, in the infamous place where she was confined. Her answer to them is recorded in these wonderful

words. Ἐλκος ἔχω τι εἰς κεκρυμμένον τόπον, ὅπερ εἰσχάλλως ὕξει, καὶ δεδοκα μὴ εἰς μῖστος μὴ ἐλθῇς τῷ ἀπορροπαίῳ τῷ ἔλκυσ. ἐνδολεῖ ἔν μοι ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐξυσίαν μὴ ἔχῃς, καὶ δωρίαν με ἔχειν.

χεν. This is language which a prostitute would hardly have used, "Quæ steterat multis in carcere fornicis annis;" yet it is supposed to have been uttered by a virtuous young woman of quality; and, which is still more singular, her suitors are supposed to have gone away satisfied with the apology.

Indeed the story in Palladius, and that which follows it, of a Christian woman who slew herself, are so awkwardly introduced, and so oddly told, that they have much the appearance of interpolations.

In later times, the story recorded by St Ambrose underwent another transformation. See the article in *Acta Sanctorum*, 3d May, *de sanctis Martyribus Alexandro et Antonina*. It is a foolish and indigested fable. Papebroch admits, that it is impossible to discover *when* and *where* Alexander and Antonina suffered martyrdom. All his researches amount to this simple conjecture, that the

event might have happened in Asia Minor, because the story makes mention of the priesthood of Diana! He seems to suspect, that the work was composed about the ninth century; and he admits, that the author "has given free scope to his imagination;" [ingenio suo indulgisse.]

Papebroch relates a singular theft committed by some Spaniards, zealous for the renown of their country. It seems, that by adding certain words to the narrative, and by misinterpreting an ancient inscription, they transplanted Alexander and Antonina into Spain. "By such lies," says Papebroch, "the modern Spanish calendars are "filled with the names of saints *plundered* "from every quarter, and then held forth "as of Spanish extraction;" [istis aliisque *figmentis* factum est, ut novi Hispanorum *fasti*, *raptis* undecunque sanctis plurimis, tanquam in Hispania natis, vel Hispano genere oriundis, implerentur]; *Acta Sanctorum*, 3d May,

p. 380. Papebroch ought not to have been so severe against the patriot Spaniards, " for  
 " having given free scope to their imagina-  
 " tions."

The last transformation which the story underwent, is in a treatise, intituled, " Love  
 " and religion demonstrated, in the martyr-  
 " dom of Theodora and Didymus, by the  
 " Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq;"

It has merit beyond the merit of some o-  
 ther religious romances: for, as to the cir-  
 cumstances and conduct of the story, it is  
 professedly a fable: " I was induced," says  
 the author, " to allow myself a more fashion-  
 " able style, than would, perhaps, be suit-  
 " able to a mere sermon, or book of divi-  
 " nity; because I feared, that the youth-  
 " ful persons of quality of both sexes, that  
 " I was chiefly to regard, would scarce be  
 " sufficiently affected by unfortunate virtue,  
 " if the interweaving of passages relating to  
 " beauty and love, did not help to make the  
 " tragical.



“tragical story delightful, and the excellent  
“sufferers piety amiable.”

Mr Boyle meant to serve the interests of virtue and religion in this as in all his other writings, and in all that he did; but while justice is done to his intentions, neither his plan nor its execution can be applauded. He has blended a little truth with a large quantity of fictions; and he has related the story of the Maiden of Antioch with the cold wordiness of M. Scuderi. Such romances bewilder the imagination, impair the remembrance of real events, and disqualify young minds for the severer studies of historical truth.

Pag. 45. l. 3.

“Should be exposed in a public brothel.”  
Of all the various barbarities exercised by the Heathens, in their endeavours to extirpate Christianity, *this* appears to have been the most brutal and flagitious. It was this, intolerable even to Christian patience, which  
X provoked

provoked Aidesius to assault Hierocles, the Prefect of Egypt, while sitting in judgement. *Euseb. de Martyribus Palestinæ*, c. 5.

A late eloquent historian says, “ The  
 “ monks of succeeding ages, who, in their  
 “ peaceful solitudes, entertained themselves  
 “ with diversifying the deaths and sufferings  
 “ of the primitive martyrs, have frequently  
 “ invented torments of a much more refined and ingenious nature. In particular,  
 “ it has pleased them to suppose, that the  
 “ zeal of the Roman magistrates, disdaining  
 “ every consideration of moral virtue or public decency, endeavoured to seduce those  
 “ whom they were unable to vanquish; and  
 “ that by their orders the most brutal violence was offered to those whom they found  
 “ it impossible to seduce. It is related, that  
 “ pious females, who were prepared to despise death, were sometimes condemned  
 “ to a more severe trial, and called upon  
 “ to determine, whether they set a higher  
 “ value

“ value on their religion, or on their chastity. — We should not indeed neglect to  
 “ remark, that the more ancient as well as  
 “ *authentic* memorials of the church are seldom polluted with these *extravagant*, and  
 “ indecent *fiCTIONS*.” *Decline and Fall*, &c.  
 p. 651.

What may be the import of the phrase, “ *extravagant fiCTIONS* in the more *authentic* “ *memorials* of the church,” I do not pretend to conjecture.

Every one must applaud the just indignation expressed by the author against those who have entertained themselves with polluting that great fountain of truth, the history of mankind. He himself, in some instances, appears to have been misled by the tales of such impostures; for he almost admits the account of the sufferings of Tarachus and his companions to be genuine, p. 700.; and he has recorded the legend of Aglaè the Roman lady, and her steward

Boniface, decked it out in brilliant language, and appealed to it as evidence of historical facts, p. 694.; although, if the plain truth were fit to be told, it is nearly of equal authority with our *popular Histories* of Whittington and Hickathrift.

Even the acute Dr Middleton has been imposed upon by those idle monks: for he quotes the epistle of Tiberianus to the Emperor Trajan as an authentic piece, and *improves* it by his elegant translation; *Inquiry*, p. 201.: yet dull critics have demonstrated it to be a dull forgery.

As the most eminent writers may be imposed upon, so also may they fall into errors through want of memory. Of this there is a remarkable example in the passage lately quoted. That which is called *an extravagant and indecent fiction*, p. 694. is not only related as a truth by Eusebius, *de Martyr. Palest.* c. 5. but the story is appealed to by  
the

the author of the *Decline and Fall*, p. 760. although it must be confessed, that his argument led him to mention the insult offered by Aidesius, and not the provocation which had been received.



IN the pieces of this collection there are fundry references and allusions to the scriptures of the New Testament. The following are the most obvious.

	<i>Chap. ver.</i>				<i>Pag. lin.</i>	
Matth.	10	23	-	-	28	13
————	10	37	-	-	18	13
————	24	10	-	-	14	11
————	25	35	-	-	24	20
Mark	10	23	-	-	15	9
————	13	22	-	-	14	11
John	13	27	-	-	7	20
————	16	2	-	-	10	3
Acts	2	42	-	-	25	2
Romans	14	10	-	-	7	16
1 Cor.	2	9	-	-	40	12
————	6	2	-	-	24	11
————	9	10	-	-	4	9
Galat.	5	1	-	-	4	6
Ephes.	6	10	-	-	16	1
1 Tim.	2	1	-	-	27	9
					2 Tim.	

	<i>Chap. ver.</i>				<i>Pag.</i>	<i>lin.</i>
2 Tim.	2	21	-	-	39	17
Heb.	10	34	-	-	11	16
<hr/>	11	38	-	-	22	16
1 John	2	8	-	-	7	15
Revel.	3	12	-	-	15	9

A P.

## A P P E N D I X.

**I** Take this opportunity of correcting some errors in the former volume of *Remains of Christian Antiquity*, and of adding a few notes.

In the title-page, there is a considerable omission; for “pro suo,” read “pro captu suo.”

P. 39. l. 1. for “distorted” read “contracted,” i.e. “drawn together,” or, “bent double.”

P. 54. l. 2. for “about to be dismissed,” read “in order to their dismissal.”

P. 54. l. 10. a learned friend observes, “The word ἀναστροφή is so used by St Peter; but it has other senses, and the most literal of them is, a *turning back*. In the present instance, I believe, it means *re-lapse*.”

P. 58. l. 12. for “exaltation,” read “exultation.”

P. 74. l. 5. add,—This note, I understand, has been the subject of much pleasantry. My purpose was, to make the nature of the punishment intelligible to *unlearned* readers, in a country where shells are of inconsiderable size.

P. 82. l. 12. for “ may ” read “ might.”

P. 88. l. 20. for “ he did not,” read “ he “ did not interpose.”

P. 99.—100. to *note*, p. 15. add, Mr Gibbon, p. 600. mentions “ *the cold indifference* with “ which Philip, the Asiarch, conducted him, “ self in the martyrdom of Polycarp.” The sense is not clear. Philip was no magistrate, and could not take any share in the trial or execution of Polycarp. He refused indeed to let out the lions, because he did not incline to prolong the season of public shews, which were exhibited at his own expence. He certainly knew that there were other methods of destroying a Christian Bishop than by baiting him in the amphitheatre; and that

the edicts of the Antonines could be executed without his aid. Many people, indeed, appear to have been disappointed that Polycarp was not devoured by wild beasts.

P. 100. l. 6. for "may" read "might."

P. 156.—159. to note p. 25. add,—Indeed it seems acknowledged on all hands, that this form of words was not known till long after the days of Polycarp.

P. 161. l. 10. del. "not the Bishop"

P. 163, l. 10. for "Decemvirs," read "Duumvirs."

P. 166. l. 7. Mr Gibbon observes, "That  
 " Dr Lardner, *Jewish and Heathen testimonies*, vol. 2. p. 102. 103. has proved, that  
 " the name of *Galileans* was a very ancient;  
 " and perhaps the primitive, appellation of  
 " the Christians." If Dr Lardner has proved this, it is much more than he imagined himself to have done. His words are, " So  
 " that it is not at all unlikely, that in early  
 " days, as well as afterwards, the Christians  
 " might



“ might be opprobriously called by some, GALILEANS.”

The purpose of Dr Lardner was to shew, that *οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι*, mentioned by Arrian in the fourth book of his Commentary on Epictetus, meant “ the Christians.”

In order to account for the Christians being termed *Galileans*, he observes the connection which our Lord and his disciples had with Galilee. He quotes *Matth. c. 21. v. 11.* which proves, that Jesus was reported to be of Nazareth of Galilee; and *Acts c. 1. v. 11.* which proves, that the men of Galilee were called *Galileans*; and *Acts c. 2. v. 7.* which proves, that the disciples of our Lord were supposed to come from Galilee. All that Dr Lardner pretended to infer from those passages was, that “ it was not at all unlikely, that, in early days, Christians might be opprobriously called by some, *Galileans*.” He did not mean to say, that that was their common and known appellation: and surely he could not

Y. 2. imagine,

imagine, that the name given to some of the  
 disciples in *Acts* c. i. v. 11. was opprobriously  
 given! — Dr Lardner holds, that Arrian or  
 Epictetus gave that name to Christians; but  
 Mr Gibbon observes, p. 617 that it is doubt-  
 ful “ whether that philosopher means to  
 “ speak of Christians;” and therefore the  
 passage in Arrian will not prove, in the opi-  
 nion of Mr Gibbon, that “ *Galileans* was a  
 “ very ancient, and perhaps the primitive  
 “ appellation of the Christians.” What  
 then are the remaining authorities on which  
 he relies? They are two. 1. An expression  
 of the Heresiarch Manes, who, towards the  
 end of the third century, is said, upon very  
 doubtful evidence, to have given the name  
 of *Galileans* to the followers of Christ. See  
*Fabric. Bibl. Græc.* t. 5. p. 285. 2. A pas-  
 sage in the compilation of Suidas, which  
 comes many ages too late to prove any thing.  
 — I concur with the opinion generally recei-  
 ved, that ἐν Γαλιλαίῳ, in the works of Ar-  
 rian,

rian, is to be understood of the Christians; but surely such an expression, once used in a work composed about the times of Adrian, affords not either evidence or presumption, that *Galileans* "was a very ancient," and much less, that it was "the primitive appellation of the Christians." For in the times of Adrian, it is universally admitted, that the name of *Christian* was as well known as any other denomination of men in the Roman empire. Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny, speak of the *Christians*, and they give no other name to the followers of Christ. From all this we may conclude, that the Christians continued to retain that name which they first got at Antioch, and that established opinions are not always erroneous.

P. 203. 204. to note p. 62. add,—*Ittigius, Hist. Eccles. t. 2. c. 6. § 26. 27* has given an abridgement of other stories relating to the same martyrs.

P. 207. to note p. 66. add,—A learned  
friend

friend says, "Perhaps, *they made excuses for others*, viz. their weak brethren. This agrees well with the context."

P. 208. to note, p. 68. add,—There is extant a supplement to the account of the Martyrs at Lyons. It bears every mark of imposture; and yet Ruinart, in his *Genuine Acts of the Martyrs*, a book most egregiously misnamed, has not hesitated to transcribe this rhapsody.

That it is indeed spurious, may be easily proved.—Epipodius and Alexander, two young Christians, escaping from the fury of the general persecution, hid themselves in the suburbs of Lyons, hard by *Pierre Encise*; [in vico qui propter *Incisam Petram* situs est.]

This is an unlucky beginning of the story. *Pierre Encise*, known by that name in the second century!

The two young men were discovered Epipodius, attempting to flee, lost one of his shoes.

That

That shoe was taken up by a devout woman, named *Lucia*. In process of time, many persons afflicted with an epidemical fever, were cured by drinking water out of that shoe.

Gregory of Tours, who lived in the sixth century, had never heard of this pretty tale. At the imminent hazard of his own credit for judgement and veracity, he made voluminous collections concerning the martyrs and other holy men of Gaul: in l. i. c. 50. *de gloria Martyrum*, he mentions the names of Epipodius and Alexander; and he reports, that their bodies lay in the church of St John at Lyons: he adds, that the dust about their tombs, *if taken with faith*, was an instant remedy in diseases; [*de quorum monumentis si pulvis cum fide colligatur, extemplò medetur infirmis.*] But he mentions not the virtues of the shoe; neither indeed does he seem to know the time or the manner of the martyrdom of Alexander  
and



and Epipodius. These are circumstances which Gregory would not have omitted, had he seen them recorded in a treatise so congenial with his own taste as the *Passio Epipodii et Alexandri*.

Again, in c. 64. *de gloria confessorum*, he speaks of a woman who took up the shoe which Epipodius had dropt as he was going to execution; and he says, that the dust about the tomb of that woman was efficacious in the cure of diseases: but he does not appear to have been acquainted with the virtues of the shoe, or to have known the name of the woman who possessed that precious relic.

To proceed in the narrative: Epipodius and Alexander were brought before the Roman tribunal. The judge made a long declamatory speech in praise of Paganism; and Epipodius, in a similar style, set forth the excellence of the Christian faith.

Both speeches are in a language different from that of the age of the Antonines: neither

ther has the writer accommodated his relation to the probable sentiments of the speakers.

Of this there is one instance so exceedingly singular as to deserve our notice.

The Roman magistrate, endeavouring to win Epipodius over, thus describes the religion of the Heathens and the religion of Christ. "We," says he, "worship the  
 " Gods with mirth, feasting, songs, sports,  
 " revellings, and lasciviousness, while ye  
 " worship one to whom those who partake  
 " of such enjoyments, are unacceptable;  
 " one who rejects mirth, who delights in fast-  
 " ings, and who, reprobating all bodily  
 " pleasures, loves a melancholic and barren  
 " chastity:" [Nos Deos colimus lætitiâ,  
 conviviiis, cantionibus, ludis, comestatione,  
 et lasciviâ: vos verò hominem crucifixum,  
 cui placere non possunt qui his omnibus per-  
 fruuntur; qui lætitiâ respuit, qui jeju-

niis delectatur, qui, damnatis voluptatibus, tristem et infœcundam diligit castitatem.]

That a Roman magistrate, seated on his tribunal, should have described the Heathen worship as consisting in revellings and lasciviousness, is most improbable; but to suppose that he did this in the very words of the Apostle Peter, 1 Pet. c. 4. v. 3. is absurd.

If, as learned men imagine, Severus, afterwards Emperor, was *that* magistrate, the speech is altogether out of character.

The description which the Heathen magistrate gives of the Christian religion, is no less wonderful: "That it condemned all  
"bodily pleasures, and loved a melancholic  
"and barren chastity."

We know from undoubted authority, that the charge brought against the Christians of the second century was directly the reverse.

"While I was attached to the tenets of  
"Plato," says Justin Martyr, "I heard the  
"Christians evil spoken of; but when I  
"saw

“ saw that with intrepidity they encountered  
 “ death, and whatever else is held dreadful,  
 “ then I thought it impossible that such  
 “ men could lead wicked lives, and be gi-  
 “ ven up to the *love of sensual gratifications.*”

[Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων δι-  
 δάγμασι, διαβαλλομένους ἀκούων Χριστιανὸς, ὁρῶν  
 τὴν ἀφόβον πρὸς θάνατον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα νο-  
 μιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνεόουν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν κακίᾳ  
 καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς.]

This is sufficiently express; but there is another passage in ecclesiastical history still more apposite. The accusation brought against the Christians of Gaul before that very magistrate who is *here* supposed to be the speaker, was, “ That they indulged them-  
 “ selves in sensual gratifications, brutish be-  
 “ yond the practice of the Heathens them-  
 “ selves.” The accusation was certainly false; and yet, from the genuine account of the Martyrs at Lyons, it is equally certain that the accusation was brought.

This

This most contemptible forger, after having perused *the Account of the Martyrs at Lyons*, had not ingenuity enough to carry on the narrative in an even strain of likelihood.

Other circumstances might be pointed out, all tending to the same conclusion, That the *Passio Epipodii et Alexandri*, is a work, not of the second century, but of an age of fraud and fanaticism.

## F I N I S.



